PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN LIFE

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PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN LIFE

By

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PREFACE

This book is built on a broader foundation than other books in the same field. A knowledge of the nature of man, the principles of group life, and the influence of the geographic environment and social heritage enables the student to understand the specific problems more easily, and insures a better grasp of the principles involved in the problems. It broadens one's vision and gives an appreciation of the fact that our problems cannot be understood unless we take into consideration the fundamental factors involved in all social phenomena, and that little permanent progress can be expected unless we make use of the knowledge of these factors in our efforts to secure improvement.

The principles involved are so closely bound up with the problems that the most helpful treatment of them must be made in connection with the problems. These principles do more than help the student understand these problems; they prepare one to deal more intelligently with the almost infinite number of situations that one is sure to face day by day. I have tried to secure such an individual reaction that the influence of the study will be permanent.

The best approach to our economic, social and political problems is through the individual. No other approach arouses interest so quickly. Interest is more apt to be sustained throughout the course as each student realizes that he, or she, is a factor in the solving of each problem. Nothing is then foreign to the individual student. Since our states are entering more and more into the field of eugenic control, a better understanding of the principles of heredity and eugenics is essential if we are to have helpful control in this field.

In the preparation of the book I have drawn freely from

the fields of Sociology, Economics, Government, Psychology, Biology, and Ethics in an effort to secure the material which would be most helpful. The correlation of material from these and other fields is but an attempt to recognize the unity of life—a unity which always exists in real life. In a democracy every part of the life of the people is significant and affects the unity and efficiency of the group. No part can wisely and safely be neglected.

A good deal of confusion has resulted from failure to differentiate problems of institutional organization from other problems. When problems of social pathology such as crime and poverty are grouped with the family, the school, and other helpful institutions, the student generally fails to see clearly the vast difference between the two kinds of problems. By treating the problems of institutional organization before the selected problems, and stressing the fact that the institutions are agents to aid in solving problems, we secure a better understanding both of the institutions and the other problems.

By organizing much of the material dealing with the government according to fundamental functions—lawmaking, executive and administrative, and judicial—it has been possible to secure a clearer analysis of government than was the case when this material was divided according to unit of government,—as local, state and Federal. This enables one to grasp more quickly the concrete things the government must do and induces a more critical and accurate evaluation. The chapters which concern the Federal Government supplement the Constitution rather than repeat it, and the questions at the end of several chapters are based on an Article of the Constitution as well as the chapter. This trains one in the use of the Constitution in solving the practical problems of government.

In choosing and dividing the material included in each chapter, a few fundamental divisions which are capable of

great expansion have been made, and bits of information which contribute little toward an understanding of the fundamentals of each body of material have been omitted.

In preparing the suggestions for further study, I have tried to make use of the same kind of material that faces the student in life, and will continue to face him throughout life, so that these will be a preparation for life in the truest sense.

The greatest obligation resting on those who are responsible for a course in social science is to arouse interest in economic, social and political questions and give such guidance as will insure a fuller realization of the economic, social and civic virtues. This book has been written in the belief that the writer of the textbook should assume a large part of this obligation.

I wish to express my appreciation for the valuable suggestions which I received from Mr. Dexter E. Coggeshall, Head of the Department of History, B. M. C. Durfee High School, Fall River, Massachusetts, in preparing the manuscript.

JOSEPH IRVIN ARNOLD

Bridgewater, Massachusetts
April 2, 1928

TO THE STUDENT

Life is becoming more and more interesting. It is also becoming more and more complex. Progress along countless lines is being made. When we scale one height in the upward march of civilization we see new heights to conquer—new problems to solve. The opportunities which surround us are very great. In no part of the world is life more interesting or more complex than in the United States. No greater opportunities are found anywhere.

Collective activity—economic, social, and political—has made this marvelous progress possible. Collective activity of worthy individuals is producing more desirable conditions which are the birthright of each of us.

All must have some part in this collective life. We cannot escape many of its influences even if we strive to do so. This is especially true in a democracy. We may use or misuse the opportunities society offers, we may play a noble or ignoble part in its activities, but it affects us and we affect it constantly. One must either learn to be a skillful navigator on the sea of life or flounder and drift aimlessly in it.

There are at least four essentials to a truly successful life in society: open-mindedness; a knowledge of the facts one should consider; an understanding of the principles involved so one can interpret the facts; and a willingness to follow the best course. The person who fails to possess these four characteristics will fail to serve society or to make society serve him adequately. One who is defective in these cannot "tune in" on our modern life effectively.

This book would give each student the things most essential to a richer, fuller participation in modern life. It would help him, or her, to be wiser, nobler, happier.

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PART ONE—ELEMENTS

CHAPTER I

THE INDIVIDUAL

THE PROBLEM: A human being is the most interesting thing in the world—and the most important? Our economic, social and political institutions exist to serve man. A knowledge of the nature of the individual and the way to secure fine individuals will aid greatly in solving all other problems of life.

The significance of quality. Nothing contributes more toward the success or failure of a government, country or other social organization than the quality of the individuals included. A strong, vigorous, efficient group can no more be built of weak, inferior individuals than a strong, stable building can be built of decayed timbers and rust-eaten metals. If the individual fails, the whole social structure may fall to pieces. As civilization becomes more and more complex, and the strain of life greater and greater, we must produce stronger individuals to meet the new conditions. Are those people right who call our attention to the large amount of crime, insanity and other bad conditions and say that unless we are able to breed a better race, civilization must break down?

The variety of the quality of individuals as well as its excellence is a vital factor. Two people of equal ability will often respond differently when treated alike. The activity that pleases and satisfies the members of one group might bring displeasure and dissatisfaction to the members of another group. We must, then, understand the individuals who compose a group before we can understand that group

or improve the type of life which exists in it. Since the well-being of the individual is the goal toward which society should aim, we must understand his nature and needs before we can intelligently direct the economic, social and political forces for, and by, him.

At Marathon the fine quality of the individual Greek soldier more than any other thing contributed to victory. The decline and fall of Rome was due in large measure to the inferiority of the individual Roman. The ascendancy of the Germanic peoples during and after the Dark Ages was brought about largely by the superior quality of the individual German. The success as well as the type of the colonies founded by the countries of Europe during modern times reflects the type of individuals who were engaged in founding and building up the colonial empires. The development of the West in America has reflected the type of manhood and womanhood possessed by that individualist, the pioneer.

Instinct. A newborn infant will suck an object placed against the lips and grasp one placed against the palms of the hands. The infant will do this without being taught.

How complicated are our inborn tendencies to act? The older psychologists—and some of the recent ones agree with them—thought these inborn tendencies very complex. They speak of the gregarious, parental, sex, fighting, play, and other inborn tendencies or instincts. Each instinct was looked upon as an invisible power trying to drive us in a certain direction. Those who hold this view stress the fact that the instincts developed thousands of years ago when social conditions were very different, and say our problem is to control and direct the instincts in such a way that they will be efficient in modern civilization. Why not use the fighting instinct in battling for civic righteousness as primitive man used it against the wolf or bear!

Many recent psychologists deny we are born with such

complicated tendencies. They think we have at birth only reflex actions such as coughing, grasping, and withdrawing the hand from the prick of a pin. They believe the things usually spoken of as instincts are really habits that have been formed early in life. Even so, they are closely related to inborn tendencies, for these tendencies have much to do with the kind of habits we form.

Gregariousness, motherliness, pugnacity, curiosity, display and many other so-called instincts are powerful forces molding the individual and society. We do not know whether they are instincts or early habits, but they are so very influential that we must consider them important factors in the many problems of life.

Emotion. Emotions play a big part in the life of each of us. The leaders in all walks of life have long made use of love, joy, revenge, anger, hate, sorrow, jealousy, and other emotions to make people do as they wished. The skillful salesman constantly uses various emotions to secure the activity necessary to cause one to make the purchase.

Countless events—good and bad—have been caused by the emotions.

In emotion the nervous system is aroused and there are other bodily changes. Some of the vital organs respond quickly. Why do you become flushed and hot when you are angry?

Can the emotions be trained? Why not experiment with your own! The Superintendent of Schools of Boston recently appointed a council of teachers to study the emotions to see if they can be educated. This action was taken as a result of the belief that the emotions should be trained, cultivated and brought under control of the will, so that we shall not give way so quickly to them.

Sentiments—permanent emotional attitudes—arise out of the emotions. After the emotion of love has been aroused many times for country, home or other object we

come to feel for it an affection and loyalty that deeply influences our conduct.

It is easy to do the right thing when we love it, and hard to do the evil thing when we hate the evil thing. The opposites are equally true. Extremely fortunate is that

Courtesy, Miss Grace M. Caldwell

TRAINING THE EMOTIONS

Children two to five years of age attend the pre-school clinic of the North Bennett Street Industrial School, Boston, to secure more desirable emotional reactions. They are encouraged to engage in enjoyable constructive activity, physical exercise is given, and the right kind of conduct is suggested directly and indirectly. The director reports that the "problem" boys in this picture and other pupils have found the daily activity of the clinic helpful in stabilizing tantrums, jealousy, and sly meanness. The pupils have made the toys shown in the picture. The writer believes much can be done even by the time the child is three or four years of age to train the emotions. What do you believe?

person whose emotions and sentiments have been attached to the right objects!

Intellect. Man can think. He can use his ideas and live wisely. He can use the experiences of himself and others to guide him in his present and future conduct. He can imagine various kinds of conduct, compare the probable result of each kind, and choose which he will follow.

Shall the student spend all his time in recreation and fail to graduate, or study and finish with the class? Shall the young man or young woman save a part of the wage each month and be a property owner, or spend it all and remain poor? We do not have to depend like the lower animals on the painful experiences to teach us everything, for we can reason out the results in many cases. The success or failure of each person depends very largely on whether or not he uses his or her thinking equipment.

Man can think, but does he? He can let his intellect sit in judgment on his instincts and emotions and direct their activity, but does he? He should consider carefully all the facts available before making up his mind, but does he?

Most of us have inborn intelligence enough to think fairly clearly about many of the most important things of life, but reflective thinking is real work. It is easier to let some one else do the thinking and to accept ready-made conclusions. The results, however, of ready-made conclusions to the one who accepts them are generally poor and are frequently disastrous. The person who thinks has a thousand allies in the facts which surround him. He can use these as helps every day.

Habit. What is habit? It is that part of our nature which we have acquired since the beginning of life. It consists of changes in the nervous system which affect our action, feeling and thought.

How are habits formed? Repetition is essential to habit formation. After something has been done a number of times it is generally easier to do it again. In fact, it may be nearly, or quite, impossible to keep from doing it. If we give close attention to the thing we are doing, find it pleasant, and do it vigorously, it becomes a habit more quickly. If the new habit is similar to old ones, the new is formed more quickly.

Young people form habits more easily than old people.

This is why education is usually more successful with the young. The old saying, "You cannot teach an old dog new tricks," recognizes this truth.

How are habits broken? The first essential is to refuse to repeat the habit even a single time. One repetition may undo the work of weeks. The tendency to follow firmly fixed habits may last for months, or even years, but will usually grow weaker and weaker until it disappears if one does not repeat or think of the habits. For a long time after the World War, the writer, who had been in the artillery, felt a desire to open fire when he saw objects such as those which had served as targets for his battery, but this desire grew weaker and weaker each year until it disappeared entirely.

If one forms new habits which interfere with the old, the new become effective weapons against the old.

Professor R. E. Park of the University of Chicago tells us character is habit, and Professor E. R. Groves of the University of North Carolina says, "Habit is a sort of social cement and if it were not for habit there could be nothing but anarchy in our political and social relations." These statements suggest the great significance of habit for each person and society.

Habits not only save us much time, and enable us to do things well; they greatly influence our desires and make us want to do things. Good habits are powerful drives toward that which is helpful, and bad habits toward that which is harmful. Our habits, like our emotions and sentiments, may be very helpful allies or very harmful enemies. Fortunately, each person can choose the kind of habits he or she will form.

Individual difference. Differences of heredity and environment cause people to differ widely. Although each individual has physical, mental and moral possibilities, and is affected by instincts, emotions, sentiments, intellect, and

habits, the possibilities differ from individual to individual. Some persons are controlled to a far greater extent than others by instincts, emotions, sentiments, intellect or habits.

People have different kinds of ability, and society, as well as the individual, secures most for the energy used when each member is doing the thing he is best fitted to do. The movement for vocational guidance is an attempt to direct individuals to occupations that fit them.

Difference in intelligence is one of the most significant of differences. There is a wide variation of intelligence in all races and nations. In all social relationships this factor plays a part. The modern intelligence test is but a recent attempt to measure a difference which has been recognized from ancient times. No modern advocate of the "aristocracy of intelligence" believes more fully in the great extent to which individuals and classes differ in intelligence than did some of the ancient Greek philosophers.

Attitudes and dispositions are very influential. Some people are individualistic, others sociable; some selfish, others altruistic; some self-indulgent, others self-controlled; some haughty, others meek; some cruel, others kind; some prejudiced, others fair-minded; some faithless, others faithful; some honest, others dishonest; some lazy, others energetic; some docile, and others intractable.

Some differences are necessary for the progress of civilization. Too many differences may destroy social unity even though each part is of good quality. There are, moreover, some qualities without which the world would be better. One of society's greatest problems is to find out which qualities it needs, and which it does not need, then to develop means of producing the former and reducing the latter. As many of our traits are inborn and many acquired, both heredity and environment must be controlled if satisfactory results are to be secured.

Heredity. The sprout develops into an oak, hickory, or elm, because the parent tree was an oak, hickory, or elm, and has transmitted certain qualities to the sprout. The Norman horse differs from the race horse, the Hereford cow from the Jersey, the bulldog from the fox terrier, because the parents of each are different. Heredity in man is as important as in any other organism, and many important traits are transmitted by biological inheritance. The shape of the head, the shape of the chin, the color and shape of the eyes, the color and texture of hair, deafness, dumbness, feeble-mindedness, insanity, superior intelligence, alcoholism, epilepsy, nervousness, and many other traits are often due to heredity.

Many traits are inherited according to the Mendelian Law. Mendel discovered the principles of his law by experimenting with different varieties of garden peas, and many other scientists have proved the truth of the law by experimenting with wheat, corn, mice, poultry and other plants and animals.

He found that if the characteristic of one parent is different from that of the other parent, the characteristic of one parent will show itself in the development of the offspring while the characteristic of the other parent will not show. For instance, when a tall pea and a dwarf pea fertilize each other all the young peas will be tall.

The characteristic which manifests itself in the offspring is called the *dominant characteristic.* The one which does not appear in the development of the offspring is the *recessive characteristic.* Tallness in peas is dominant and dwarfishness is recessive.

A *hybrid* is an organism that has developed according to the dominant characteristic but carries both characteristics in its germ cells. When hybrids fertilize each other one quarter of the offspring, on the average, will have the dominant characteristic in their own growth and in their

germ cells, one quarter will have the recessive characteristic in their own growth and in their germ cells, and one half will be hybrids. One fourth of the peas produced by hybrid parents will be tall without dwarfishness in the germ cells, one quarter will be dwarf, and one half will be tall with both characteristics in the germ cells.

Great economic, social, and political possibilities are found in the fact that dominant characteristics are inherited about three times as often as recessive ones. Scientists are trying to discover what human characteristics are inherited according to Mendel's Law, and some progress has been made. Recessive characteristics may remain hidden for generations and appear in the development of some of the members of a later generation.

It must not be supposed that all characteristics of the parent are transmitted to the child. Acquired characteristics, that is, characteristics which the parent has taken on since birth, are generally not inherited. If, for instance, a man, by exercise, develops large muscles or, by study, acquires a fine education, his children at birth will not be different because of the muscular development or fine education. Generally speaking, only those physical and mental characteristics which one has received from one's ancestors can be handed down to the new generation.

Eugenics. Some families, generation after generation, contain a very large percentage of members who are criminals, paupers, feeble-minded, or have other very undesirable characteristics. The Kallikak and Juke families, with their hundreds of paupers, drunkards, criminals, and feeble-minded, are notorious examples. The financial burden on society of these two families alone can scarcely be less than three or four million dollars. Other families have few socially undesirable members.

The eugenists believe stricter measures should be taken to segregate the undesirable individuals, so that it would

be impossible for them to have children. They believe we should have more rational selection. Numerous data have been gathered by the eugenists since the science of eugenics was founded by Sir Francis Galton, and some of the states have used this knowledge in the treatment of undesirables and in bringing about stricter marriage laws. The greatest victory in many years for the eugenists was the recent decision of the Supreme Court upholding the Virginia law which provides compulsory sterilization for mental defectives in state institutions.

The eugenists stress the fact that those who produce and rear offspring most rapidly will tend to impress their characteristics on the group. They believe people of superior ability should be the parents of a much larger proportion of the next generation. Many studies made of college graduates, those whose names appear in *Who's Who,* and other selected groups, where the inborn ability is much above the average, show that these groups generally have fewer children than other classes of the population. Those who are anxious to maintain a high standard of living are apt to marry late and have small families.

On the other hand, a very large proportion of those with little inborn ability and a low standard of living marry early and rear large families. These are the people who give most concern to the eugenists as their number is so vast and it is not possible to segregate them and prevent their marrying as can be done in the case of the feebleminded. If we continue to produce most rapidly from the lower strata it seems certain that the inborn ability of our people will steadily decline. Who should do something about it?

Socialization. The production of capable individuals is not the most important problem with which society has to deal. All of us might be giants in physical and mental strength without helping either society or ourselves, if we

fail to use our strength in the right way. It sometimes happens that the person who is most harmful to society is one of great ability. The most important question society can ask in regard to any person is: Is he socialized?

A socialized person is one who gives due consideration to the well-being of society. He is a social asset, not a social liability. He is industrious. The person who is able to work but does not do his share is a slacker and deserves even greater censure than the player who remains idle while team-mates strain every nerve to win the game. The socialized person is responsible, loyal, tolerant, temperate, unprejudiced, just, open-minded, helpful, provident, courageous and orderly.

While it is true that some individuals are by nature more easily socialized than others, the great fundamental fact is that socialization is primarily a matter of environment. Place the infant of civilized parents among head-hunting savages, and he will grow up a head-hunter; place the infant of savage parents in a civilized country and he will become a civilized person. Professor C. H. Cooley of the University of Michigan goes so far as to say that human nature itself is not with us at birth, but is developed by our contacts in the face-to-face groups like those of the family and neighborhood. Many of the most powerful interests which determine conduct are largely social in origin.

The long period of infancy makes the socialization of the individual possible. At the end of two or three years the colt is in the harness doing his share of the work, but the human being of the same age is but beginning to learn the things which civilization requires. The family, the church, the school and hundreds of other agencies are busily working to make the individual into the kind of person each agency wants him to be.

This socialization process ought not to be so thorough

that the individual will lose his individuality and merely do the will of the group. Progress often comes because of individuals who refuse to accept the dictates of a group, and, by fighting for something better, lead the group to higher levels. In our schools today there are many educators who wish primarily to develop the individuality of the child. Other educators want to mold the life of the child to the will of the state. A third group believes that individualization and socialization are, to a considerable degree, the same, rather than contradictory processes, and that the most highly developed individuality can be produced only in a society that lays many restrictions on the individual.

Among savage people the individual has usually been tightly bound by many customs, and the same was true to a very great extent among the civilized nations of ancient times. During medieval times there was little opportunity to develop individuality, but with the coming of the Renais-

RURAL ISOLATION AND URBAN CONGESTION

Would you expect the people of this isolated mountain region or the people of the city to be more individualistic? How would you expect their relative individualization and socialization to affect the economic, social and political development of the two regions?

sance the individual received more consideration. Those who held the *laissez-faire* doctrine believed that the interests of the individual and society were identical, and that the individual, if unrestricted by the state, would do what was best for himself, and that would be best for society; but the *laissez-faire* doctrine, for almost a century, has been giving way to a policy of strict legal regulation.

Many forces in the economic and social life of the modern world—such as the factory system of labor, standardized production, and world-wide fashion—tend to restrict individualism. Has socialization gone too far? Will it make the attainment of the highest goal for both the individual and society impossible?

Questions on the Text

1. Why is the quality of the individual important?
2. What is the significance of instinct? Of emotion? Of sentiment? Of intellect? Of habit?
3. Why are people different? What are some of the most significant differences?
4. What qualities are inherited? Give the substance of the Mendelian Law. Are acquired characteristics inherited?
5. What do eugenists teach?
6. Is heredity or environment the more important in producing socialized individuals?
7. Discuss individualism in history.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Write an essay on yourself.
2. Show how some personal characteristics have affected the social efficiency of your acquaintances.
3. Discuss the nature of the nervous system. Show how it affects behavior.
4. Do you consider the old or new view of the nature of instincts correct?
5. List eight emotions and show how they have affected the life

of the people with whom you are acquainted. What is the James-Lange theory of the emotions?

6. Criticize some of your sentiments.

7. Cite an attitude or disposition of an acquaintance or historical character and show the cause of it.

8. Explain the process of thinking.

9. Prepare a program to get rid of your bad habits, and to form habits you think would be helpful.

10. What human qualities are too plentiful? Too scarce?

11. Develop the topic, "The laws of heredity."

12. Report on the Kallikak or Juke family.

13. Report on a family that has had many members prominent in American life. To what do you attribute this family's influence?

14. Enumerate twenty-five powerful forces working for the socialization of the individual.

15. *Resolved:* That good habits are more influential than bad ones.

16. *Resolved:* That our State should have more eugenic laws than it has at present.

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CHAPTER II

GROUP LIFE

THE PROBLEM: The individual's well-being is dependent on group activity. That is why we have so many groups. But the group cannot serve the individual unless it is composed of people who know enough about the nature of group life to take an intelligent part in group activity. As you read the principles of group life, see how accurately they describe the groups with which you are most familiar.

Significance. We are a nation of groups. We have thousands of them: groups in politics, in military affairs, in business, in education, in religion, in charity, in fraternal activity, in recreational activity, in welfare work; groups for capitalists, for laborers, for doctors, for lawyers, for reformers, for lawmakers, for lawbreakers,—in fact, groups for everybody. Groups have multiplied so rapidly in our complex civilization that one individual may belong to scores of them, each making its demand on, or appeal for, his time and energy. Even the other advanced nations of the world fall far below us in the number of voluntary associations, and so much of our activity is group activity that a knowledge of group life will aid greatly in understanding economic, social, and civic problems.

The group stimulates and suggests. It has affected the mental development of the individual, and has deeply affected his moral development, for moral relations are really group relations. The group tends toward uniformity and usually makes it unpleasant for those members who refuse to conform. Group life has very great survival value. Professor F. H. Giddings of Columbia University tells us that even among animals group life, rather than the fierce teeth, sharp claws, and other equipment of the individual animal,

has been the biggest factor in deciding which species should die and which survive.

Without the group, extensive spread of culture could not take place. In fact, without it civilization and real progress would be impossible. Most important groups are older than the people who compose them, so that the indi-

A STREET GANG

The gang teaches forcibly, and the character of the adult shows the influence of the early contacts.

vidual usually has little to do with the formation of the groups of which he is a member. From the moment we are born into the family until the moment of death, the group is one of the absolutely essential and controlling factors of our lives.

Formation and growth. The causes of the formation of groups are many. Some groups, such as the family, have an instinctive basis. Gregariousness causes human beings, as it does horses, sheep or other animals, to live in groups. In vain does the social worker urge the people of the slums to move out into rural districts where they can get plenty of fresh air and sunshine.

Self-preservation has been a very important cause of political union, and this is suggested by the state motto of Kentucky, "United we stand, divided we fall." The physical environment as well as racial and cultural factors have been very prominent in forming unions. The vast majority of modern groups are voluntary associations to secure ends which appear to a limited number of persons to be desirable. As governments become less autocratic, voluntary groups multiply.

A group grows by including more territory in its membership, or by increasing its numbers within the original territory. The former method was once very common and is still found; it is used each time a new state becomes a member of the League of Nations. This method, if peaceful, is conditioned upon an expanding consciousness of the old or new members, or both. The latter method, however, is far more common today. We are constantly seeing "drives" of various organizations for members, and there are millions joining various organizations without special drives. Membership in a few groups is hereditary and the birth rate and death rate have much to do with the growth of the group.

The growth of any group is limited to its ability to assimilate, for if the elements which compose it are too unlike, it will fail to function well and may break up entirely. The ability to assimilate depends greatly upon the nature of the group, the nature of the new members, and means of communication throughout the group. Exclusive groups are more apt than inclusive ones to arouse the hostility of other members of society and create social discontent, but membership in the exclusive groups is more highly regarded, because of prestige.

Relation between members. There must be coöperation between members in a group. Sometimes this coöperation is secured by compulsion as is true in the case of slavery

or the person who obeys the law because he is afraid of the consequences of breaking it. A much more helpful and efficient coöperation is that which springs from a common loyalty to the welfare of the group and the attempt to reach the goal of the group by united effort. The failure of one person to coöperate does far more than detract from the cause the effort of one person: it is apt to hurt the morale of the group and cause many members to work less efficiently. In the classroom, in the literary society, or on the playground, one contrary pupil may cause the whole group to cease to be efficient. Severe measures of discipline are for the few.

The more alike the members of the group are, the easier it is to secure coöperation. A large degree of like-mindedness is necessary if the group is to have stability. One reason that so many of our cities have political bosses is that the population contains people from so many nations which differ widely that they have found it very difficult, if not impossible, to coöperate in securing good government.

The efficiency of the group will be greater and the joy of being in it increased if the members are helpful. Kropotkin, the radical Russian sociologist, believed mutual aid the great factor in social evolution. Adam Smith, the great English economist, and some recent writers, including Professors John Fiske and Giddings, lay greatest emphasis on sympathy, or kindred factors. Suggestion and imitation are powerful factors within the group. They tend to create unity, but do this by a process of leveling down as well as leveling up. Those who make our fashions in clothing seem to find it almost as easy to get the majority to adopt the harmful style as the helpful one.

The individual and the group. Carlyle says the history of the world consists principally of the biographies of great men. The German philosopher Nietzsche has contempt for the group and says the superman is the real power

in the world. On the other hand, we have sociologists, like Gumplowicz of Austria and Le Bon of France, who say the individual thinks so little for himself that he does scarcely more than register the will of the group. Probably both schools of thought are too extreme, for it seems certain that both the group and the individual are modified by their contact with each other. The writer believes, however, that with the exception of a few gifted, fortunately placed, or eccentric individuals, the group modifies the individual far more than the individual does the group. As society becomes more complex and people are crowding each other, stricter and stricter group regulation is necessary. In the cities and along the crowded highways, we are getting more rigid police control each year.

Public opinion is probably the most influential agent of social control. It is made up largely of sentiment and is often very irrational. It is so powerful that it is seldom resisted permanently by either individuals or community groups. James Bryce, the former English ambassador to the United States, and other qualified observers have noted that it is more influential in this country than abroad.

The politicians vie with one another in trying to secure its approval. Capital, Labor, and other economic and social groups are extremely anxious to secure a favorable public opinion, especially during a struggle over some specific issue. The outcome of many strikes has been decided by it. Large sums are spent to secure a favorable reaction on the part of the public. Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson found it a powerful weapon in handling labor questions. Public opinion was one of the most important influences in the World War, and the Government issued a daily official bulletin to influence it. Much of the self-sacrifice during the World War was due to it.

Many of the worst as well as the finest things in the world's history have been dictated by public opinion. Since

it is so powerful, it is essential that the quality be high. We cannot secure a fine public opinion without intelligent, right-minded people, and means of communication that will enable them to secure the facts which should be considered.

How is public opinion formed? Let us think of it as a process that is constantly going on. The public opinion in any community today is closely akin to the public opinion of yesterday. The new has grown out of the old, but new information or other factors have wrought changes.

All institutions and social groups as well as individuals help form it, but with different degrees of influence. An active, aggressive minority may be more effective than a numerical majority. The press is at present the most influential factor in the formation of it.

Public meetings are important, and we should have more community gatherings for the exchange of ideas. Discussion is significant. A strong, effective public opinion is dependent on a large degree of like-mindedness. The existence of political, sectarian, economic or social divisions weakens it.

There are many other means of social control. Frequently the group resorts to law and compels obedience. Custom, religion, sentiment and education are powerful agents of control. Rewards, threats, punishments, ridicule, laughter, symbols, ceremony and a thousand kinds of propaganda are used to bring the individual into harmony with the group and keep him there.

The greatest motive in the group is usually self-interest and herein lies a grave danger, for the group may demand of the individual an action which is best for the group, although it is neither right nor best for society as a whole. The member of the college fraternity is often expected to vote for his fraternity brother even when he is not the best candidate for the position, and the political party leaders ask each member of the party to support the party ticket

and party platform at every election, even though the member believes the candidate or platform inferior to that of an opponent. It has frequently been remarked that group morality in business, international affairs and some other fields is inferior to the private moral code of the individuals. The influence of each code on the other is important.

The individual is under obligation to be loyal to his group and promote its best interests unless the group interests come in conflict with the interests of a more inclusive group, or invade the rights which the individual may justly reserve to himself. Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, who has done more to develop the subject of social control than any other writer, suggests five canons in defining the proper limits of social control: More benefit should accrue to persons as members of society than inconvenience to them as individuals; the instrument of control should not lightly excite against itself the passion for liberty; it should respect the sentiments that are the support of natural order; it must not be so paternal as to check the self-extinction of the morally ill-constituted; and must not so limit the struggle for existence as to nullify the selective process.

The group demands of the individual much self-control, but it should bear in mind that the group is under just as great obligation to exercise self-control.

Inter-group relations. As groups multiply, inter-group relations become increasingly important. Where a spirit of helpfulness prevails, the groups are often of great value to one another; where a spirit of friendly rivalry prevails, the groups may spur one another on to greater efficiency; but where there is bitterness and strife, the groups and society suffer. Groups, like individuals, usually find it better to be conciliatory than belligerent, although many groups, ranging in size from the national groups to those families where feuds exist, have failed to learn this.

Each group should be careful to refrain from attitudes or conduct which would make its members feel personal hostility toward members of other groups. Few things are so unfair, unreasonable, and harmful as group hatreds are almost sure to be. The members of one group should make all reasonable effort to understand another group before adopting a positive attitude toward it.

Inter-group struggle tends to beget group loyalty on the part of the members of each group, and is the means often resorted to in keeping alive the morale of the group. Inter-school debates and athletics do this.

Inter-group conflict has been praised as the best means of getting rid of the inefficient and weak, and perpetuating the efficient and strong. Gumplowicz considers inter-group struggle the primary cause of social development. The gravest danger is that group strength rather than justice or right decides which side is to win. The qualities which are most valuable during the period of struggle and those which are responsible for victory may not be the qualities most needed in other activities and at other times. On the other hand, a world without inter-group competition and struggle would doubtless be a very uninteresting place in which to live, and we would lose much that is of tremendous intellectual and moral value.

Many groups do not compete with one another, and it is easy for these to coöperate. Because of lack of foresight such groups do not make sufficient use of their opportunity to work together. It is to the interests of most groups that law and order prevail, but comparatively few are coöperating actively and energetically with others to lessen crime. As we become more enlightened, tolerant, and cosmopolitan, there will doubtless be much greater coöperation between groups as well as within each group.

Socialization. Groups, like individuals, have to be socialized, or, if they refuse to be socialized, crushed. They must

not act contrary to the well-being of society and destroy the things which are socially valuable. The group must be socialized in ideals and in method.

Some groups are organized for the fundamental purpose of benefiting society by working in a specific field. It may happen that the special thing they are trying to do will harm society, so that a great deal of care must be taken to see that the specific goal is in harmony with the fundamental aim. The vast majority of groups are organized for specific purposes which are valued apart from their relation to the good of society. Few, if any, are malignant enough to have the destruction of society as their goal. Whether the group believes it is aiding society, or believes it is not affecting society, or, like the criminal gang, knows it is preying upon society, it must be studied carefully to see what the results of its activity are. Is business socialized to as great an extent as the family, the church and the school?

Most groups sooner or later have to face the question, "Does the end justify the means?" Even well-meaning groups may, like prize fighters, hit below the belt. Society must demand that the means as well as the ideals of the group be honorable. One country can no more afford to let the groups within it use disreputable means than the world can sit unconcerned while two countries use poisonous gas, or murder prisoners of war. Lawlessness, like other antisocial activity of the group, is contagious. The group that has used unfair means against an opposing group will be tempted to use the same method against society or against its own members as individuals.

The larger group which is attempting to socialize a smaller one must be sure of its right to do so and careful of the means it employs. Failure to do this caused France to be torn by the bloody Huguenot wars of the sixteenth century when she might have been planting permanent

colonies in America, and caused England to lose her American colonies in 1776. Unjust discrimination by the state increases loyalty to the mistreated group on the part of its members, and increases the width of the very breach that the state, or society, is trying to heal.

Questions on the Text

1. Discuss the value of the group.
2. Why are groups formed? How do they grow?
3. What is the significance of one contrary member of a group?
4. Contrast the views of Carlyle and Gumplowicz.
5. Why is public opinion important? How is it formed?
6. What obligations rest on the members of a group? By what is that obligation limited?
7. What effect does inter-group struggle have on the attitude of members toward their group?
8. Discuss the socialization of the group.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Show how each of ten groups has vitally affected your life. Show how you have influenced each of ten groups.
2. Have we too many groups?
3. What should you consider before joining a group?
4. Make a study of the attempt of some group to assimilate new members.
5. What can be done to improve the spirit of good-fellowship and helpfulness between members of your class? Your school? Your home? Your community?
6. Develop the topic, "Social Control."
7. List the chief advantages and disadvantages of inter-group struggle. Inter-group coöperation.
8. What are the social values or goals society should have in mind when it is trying to socialize?
9. Make suggestions for a more thorough socialization of business.
10. *Resolved:* That there is too much legal social control of business.

11. *Resolved:* That principle should play a larger part and group opinion a smaller part in the conduct of high-school boys and girls.

12. Report on the teaching of one sociologist.

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CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

THE PROBLEM: The geographic environment is the stage on which the scenes of life are played. All individuals and all groups use, and are used by, it. A knowledge of its effects on the individual and various kinds of groups will aid one in understanding the activity of individuals and groups.

Elements. Topography, climate, and natural resources are very important factors in economic, social and political development. A country's size, plains, altitude, mountains, swamps, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, harbors, temperature, humidity, light, wind, electricity, soil, metals, plants, and animals condition development. Like groups enter different geographic areas and soon are very different.

These elements have a different effect at each stage of culture. In the early history of man, temperature, fertile soil, and natural means of transportation were probably the most important things to be considered, but as he advanced in culture other things became very important.

The elements affect one another greatly. The industrial development of the Mediterranean basin has been held back because of the scarcity of fuel. The great plain extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean permits a very wide range of temperature, and the cold winds of winter sweep far to the south, and the warm winds of summer sweep far to the north. The Gulf Stream affects the direction of the wind and the temperature of the southern half of our Atlantic coast, as well as much of Europe. The climate affects both plant and animal life, and has much to do with erosion and fertility of the soil.

One cannot understand the development of the United States unless one appreciates the significance of our har-

Courtesy, Carnegie Institution of Washington

CORRELATION STUDIES OF CLIMATE, PHYSIOGRAPHY, AND LIFE IN THE BAD LANDS OF THE PETRIFIED FOREST, ARIZONA.

bors, rivers, lakes, mountains, plains; our mineral, plant, and animal resources; and our climate. Ellen Churchill Semple, the American sociologist, says that the geographic environment produces four classes of effects on man: the direct and indirect physical; the direct and indirect psychical; economic and social; and nomadic and residential.

Effect on the individual. The geographic environment is a selective factor that tends to kill the weak individual and permit the strong to live. This selective power was more influential with primitive than with civilized man, for as civilization advances, the social environment interferes to a great extent with the selective power of the geographic environment. This is especially true with infants, and the cause of the difference between a very high death rate in some parts of our cities and a low death rate in

other parts is usually far more social than geographic. The children of well-to-do families have much better facilities for health than the very poor.

Climate seems to have had indelible influences on man. The negroes who migrate to the northern part of the United States tend to die out, and migration from the South is necessary to keep the negro population of the North from decreasing. The white man has made very little headway in his attempts to colonize the tropics, and Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard University believes a true colonization cannot be made by the white race in a tropical climate.

The climate vitally affects the energy of individuals. The natives of the tropics are usually indolent. The food supply is apt to be so bountiful and the heat so discouraging to the worker that there is little work done. We may perfect a cooling technique which will permit people to work efficiently in even the warmest climates. The tropics have been called the cradle of humanity, but the higher forms of civilization have developed in the temperate zone. If the hot atmosphere is dry, it is more apt to stimulate than a hot, moist atmosphere.

The polar region is too cold to enable man to secure much more than his daily needs, so that there is little to make the inhabitants of that region ambitious. Little agriculture, mining, lumbering, or manufacturing is possible; little of anything to call forth the latent abilities of the people. The long nights do not encourage habits of industry. The monotonous cold of the far north like the monotonous heat of the tropics fails to have the stimulating effect of the changing temperature of the temperate zones.

The temperate zone not only stimulates man directly by changes in climate; it offers him great inducement to put forth physical and mental effort, but gives him very little without such effort. These facts go far to explain why the

center of civilization has moved northward steadily, from Egypt and the Mesopotamian Valley to Greece, Italy, central and northern Europe.

Cloudy skies tend to depress while sunshine tends to induce a joyous frame of mind.

AT THE SEASHORE

Too hot to work! Using Nature's water to subdue Nature's heat.

Topography, as well as the climate and natural resources, affects the individual psychologically. The people who live where nature is majestic—high mountains and great plains —are more imaginative and artistic, but less practical and scientific, than people of other sections.

The body as well as the mind of man has been influenced by the geographic environment. The individual reaches physical maturity earlier in very warm climates. A dark skin was long ascribed to the heat of the warm climates, but it is probably due to the sunlight. The climate conditions the food supply and to a considerable extent the kind of food the body needs; the food, in turn, affects the growth and development of the body, but the characteristics developed by one generation will not usually be inherited by later ones.

Effect on economic development. From the beginning of economic development to the present time, the geographic environment has largely determined the direction and extent of that development. Fertile valleys, like those of the Nile and the Euphrates, became centers of agriculture. Less fertile, hilly, or semi-arid ground was used for grazing, as was true in Palestine at an early date, and is still true in many sections of the western part of the United States. People who live beside the sea usually develop the fishing industry and commerce, as was true in Phoenicia, and is true at present in New England. A country without the most important minerals finds it very difficult to become an industrial nation.

Courtesy, Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, California

GATHERING ORANGES

The warm climate of the southern part of the United States makes it profitable to produce many fruits which cannot be produced farther north.

Water power and poor soil started New England along the road to industrial development. The great deposits of iron and coal have caused Pennsylvania to become the center of a great iron and steel industry. The fine soil of the Middle West has caused the great agricultural development there. The climate and soil of the Pacific coast made possible the fruit orchards of California and grain fields of Oregon and Washington. The soil and climate of the South gave her cotton and slavery, with little industrial development until recently. It is true that China and Russia, with very great natural resources and large populations, are still chiefly agricultural nations, but who can predict what those nations will be a century hence? What was the United States, industrially, a century ago?

In so far as environment affects the personal characteristics of a population, it affects indirectly their economic development.

Effects on social development. The density of population, a fundamental factor in economic, social and political development, is affected by the physical environment. The Sahara Desert might be as thickly populated as any country but for the fact that some favorable geographic conditions are absent. Social contacts and the blending of races and cultures are affected by the natural means of transportation. Mountains, oceans, and, in the early days, even lakes and large rivers meant isolation, with the result that stimulating ideas from outside sections were slow to enter. For generations, the people of the more remote sections of our Southern Appalachian Mountains were almost entirely shut off from the other sections of the country, and their ideas, customs, and even language changed more slowly. The poverty of the region caused these mountain people to fall far behind most sections of the country in education, but as the mines are being opened and industrial towns developed, many good schools are being established.

The family is affected by the geographic environment. The people of the tropics usually marry very young, and this means a very high birth rate. Polygyny is most frequently found in the tropics, where it is easy for a man to support more than one wife, while polyandry is found in

Courtesy, Hawaii Tourist Bureau

PLANTATION IN HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

In the distance is a sugar mill. In the foreground are irrigated fields of rice. A few banana plants can be seen at the right. The Hawaiian Islands send some $60,000,000 worth of sugar and $35,000,000 worth of pineapples to other parts of the United States annually. Many tropical and semitropical plants are found there. Explain the economic and social development of these islands.

regions so poor that one man can scarcely support a wife. Sometimes the change from the metronymic to the patronymic family was due to changes in the environment. Slavery is common in the tropics where nature is so bountiful that the labor of one person is sufficient to support several. Slavery always means significant social stratification and many social problems. Killing of infants and human sacrifice are frequently found in those districts, often islands,

where it is hard to eke out a living. Some of the Eskimos kill their infirm parents.

The ideas of many religions have been vitally affected by the elements of the environment. The nature worshipper often chose as his god some local object, or one that could supply some local need, as the rain or vegetation. Even the picture of the next world was strongly affected by the climate: the hell of the Jew living on the hot hills of Palestine was a hell of fire, while the hell of the people of the very cold climates was one of ice and snow. It is not an accident that the great religions—Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism—arose in the monotonous deserts of Asia, where contemplation was natural.

The recreational activities, some diseases and many other important factors in the social development of a people are largely a product of the geographic environment. Probably sixty-five or seventy per cent of the population of the tropics and subtropics have malaria or hookworm, but these diseases are unknown in the coldest climates.

Political development. When one studies the map of the modern world, one is impressed by the important part the geographic environment has in determining political boundaries, but a study of the map of the ancient world will show that it was once a much more important factor. The fertile valleys or fertile plains called into being large political unions. To some extent they came into existence because a big economic work, such as the controlling of the Nile, needed to be done, but they were often the result of the effort to secure peace in the fertile region or protection from outsiders. The people of the highlands and mountains, on the contrary, have usually been divided into many small political divisions, such as the city states of ancient Greece or the clans of Scotland.

The government in a fertile section was usually autocratic, that of the mountains democratic. The people of the fertile sections are less likely to be warlike than the mountain tribes, who are pressed by hunger. Even a modern nation like Japan may feel it must have more territory to support an increasing population.

The foreign policy of a nation may be determined by geographic conditions. Russia has long worked to secure an outlet to the Mediterranean and more satisfactory ports in the north of Europe. Gibraltar and the environs of the Suez Canal are of vital importance to England. Our Monroe Doctrine and policy in the Pacific have been greatly influenced by geographic facts. Professor Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University has called our attention to the periodic drying up of regions in Middle Asia and the effect of this on the migration of peoples.

There is little self-government in the tropics and even the white people who go there tend to lose their democratic ideals. The conquering peoples have nearly always come from the north—from the cold, invigorating climates to overrun the richer, peace-loving peoples, where nature is more bountiful.

Man's changing position. Man was once the slave of Nature and of his own superstitious dread concerning her. He spent much time trying by religious observance or magic to get from her what he wanted; and much property and many lives were sacrificed to secure help from the sun, rivers or other objects of worship. Today we are harnessing Nature and forcing her to work for us. Mountains and oceans no longer form an effective barrier.

Several generations ago, many people thought a political body as large as the continental United States must fall to pieces because of lack of rapid communication. In a single evening now one can hear people speaking in all sections of our country, either by telephone or radio. Nature failed

by forty miles to unite the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, so we improved on her work by cutting across the Isthmus of Panama. If we desire some commodity which we do not produce, we can get it in a few days from Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, South America, or the islands of the seas.

The vast stores of iron, coal, gas, oil and other products that Nature has spent centuries storing up, we use rapidly as they serve our need. Even the ice and winds of winter have ceased to have very great significance for millions who ride in heated cars to comfortable offices. Because of our social heritage we are able to force the geographic environment to conform to our will in many things, and to serve the modern world in many ways.

Questions on the Text

1. What are the important elements of the geographic environment?
2. What psychological and physiological effects does the geographic environment have on the individual?
3. Discuss the effects of the geographic environment on economic development. On social development. On political development.
4. How has man's position changed?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Indicate the psychological and physiological changes which have been produced in the members of a specific group by the geographic environment.
2. Explain "spring fever" and point out its results.
3. What influences has the geographic environment had on the economic development of your community?
4. What differences in economic, social and political development in the South and New England in colonial times were due to geographic environment? What differences still remain?
5. Show the way the geographic environment has influenced some modern nation at each stage of its development.

6. *Resolved:* That climate is the most important cause of the instability of the governments of Central America.

7. In what ways could you adjust yourself to the geographic environment more advantageously?

8. Suggest possible lines of future development in man's conquest of Nature.

9. Compare the geographic environment of the United States and one foreign country.

10. *Resolved:* That the geographic environment is now playing a more influential part in human affairs than ever before.

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL HERITAGE

THE PROBLEM: A better knowledge of, a keener appreciation of, and a greater loyalty to, our social heritage will give more power and more pleasure. How can one increase this knowledge, appreciation and loyalty?

Meaning. By social heritage we mean all that the human race has achieved during its existence, except the physical and psychic equipment of the individual. It includes all culture, knowledge, tools, institutions, customs, ideals and other things which affect our lives.

The absence of social heritage would mean that each generation must begin anew and learn all things. We should be lower in the social scale than even the most primitive peoples of whom we have record. In spite of our superior mental equipment, we would be in the collectional economy and have to live like the animals on the wild vegetables, fruits and such game as we could catch with our

Courtesy, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

A SWIFT AND POWERFUL LOCOMOTIVE

Few parts of our material culture have been so influential as the steam locomotive. Much of our economic, social and political life has been built around it. What factors have called this powerful agent into being?

hands. There would be no shelter except trees and overhanging cliffs, and no clothing to protect from the snows of winter. Instead of the associations which mean so much to us, our relationships would be little, if any, better than those of the members of the gregarious herd or pack. It is hard for us who have been born into so rich a social heritage to visualize a race without a heritage, but we cannot understand the full meaning of it unless we do visualize such a race.

Professor I. Edman of Columbia University says matter and men remain the same, so that social heritage is the changing factor, the dynamic factor, in progress. Some of the most fundamental questions for us to try to answer are: Does this social heritage—this culture—that we have at present fit the inborn nature of man? Are the bad conditions in society partly due to the fact of a maladjustment? Can we change the culture or the inborn nature of man more easily?

Knowledge. The knowledge which each generation passes on to the next is so vital and so varied that thousands of parts of it are of inestimable value. Language, alphabet, numerals, writing, printing, compass, geographic knowledge, water power equipment, steam, electricity, gasoline, telegraph, telephone and radio suggest what our knowledge means to us in the field of communication and transportation. Clothing, sewing-machine, shelter, woodworking, fire, cooking, metals, gunpowder, money, clock, music, art, literature, philosophy, law, medicine, business, chemistry, physics, biology and morality suggest things of inestimable value in many fields.

The English sociologist H. T. Buckle considered increase of knowledge the chief factor in the development of civilization, and no one can dispute its great importance. The contribution of the ancient Oriental nations was chiefly a material culture, but the art and intellectual culture of

Greece, and the law and ideas in other branches of government contributed by Rome were indispensable.

Courtesy, Bell Telephone Laboratories

A LABORATORY

The scientific method is the principal one by which we are adding to our store of social heritage. This is the optical section of the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

Material culture. In speaking of man, Carlyle said, "Without Tools he is nothing, with Tools he is all." With massive steam shovels like the ones used to excavate the Panama Canal man can remove mountains in a short time. Herodotus tells us that it took one hundred thousand men ten years to build a causeway one thousand yards long from the quarry to the Pyramid of Cheops and twenty years more to build that pyramid. Such engineering feats can be built now in a fraction of the time.

Our tools, which enable us to produce material culture so rapidly, have come into existence as a result of natural re-

sources, previous tools, and the knowledge, skill, and industry of individuals. Land improvements, agricultural implements, buildings, furniture, utensils and other furnishings for the home, machinery and other equipment for the factory, roads and carriages, river and harbor improvements, boats, railroads and railroad equipment, automo-

COMMERCIAL AIRPLANES AND AUTOMOBILE TRUCKS

Two contributions of our generation to the stream of social heritage.

biles and airplanes suggest the importance of material culture. The man in moderate circumstances today has far more comforts and luxuries than the well-to-do of a century ago. This has come about largely as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

Institutions. Our institutions are one of the most significant parts of our social heritage. Do you agree with President Bryan of Ohio University who said recently that the child with the aid of institutions makes more progress in ten years than the human race could make in ten centuries without them? We are so accustomed to the family, government, school, church, press, economic and other institutions that we are apt to lack a proper appreciation of their significance and their long and changing history. Volumes are written on the history of each of these institu-

tions without exhausting the available material connected with their growth. At different stages of development very great sacrifice was necessary if they were to be maintained and developed. The fact that they have developed and are functioning proves that many people, even though their names may not be remembered, made such a sacrifice. The institutions have been extremely powerful in arousing emotion and organizing effort. They are frequently slow in adapting themselves to new conditions.

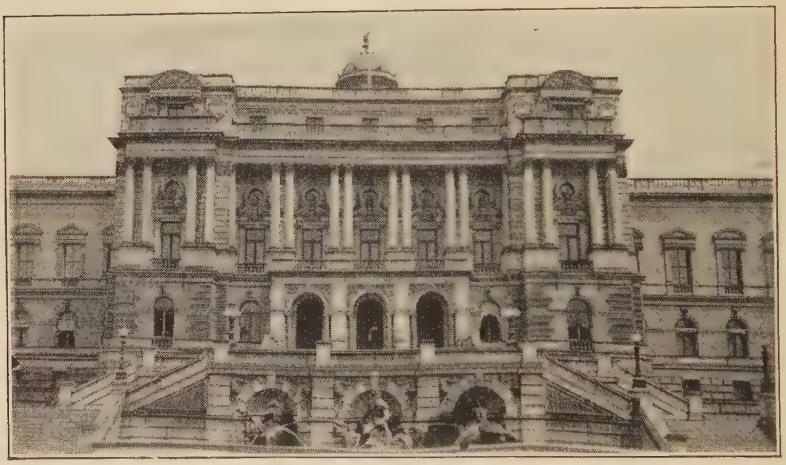
Customs, conventions and ideals. A very large part of our life is regulated by custom and convention. We do a vast number of things without a critical analysis of them because others are doing them. The kind of houses we live in, the things we eat, the kind of clothing we wear, the occupations we follow, our standard of living, amusements, recreations, social relations, interests and institutions rest largely on custom and convention. Customary morality, which consists of following the customs of one's group, is much more influential than reflective morality, which is the result of thought and analysis. Custom and convention make for social unity, increase coöperation and lessen friction, but they also cause the individual to do many unwise things.

Our ideals are very closely related to custom and convention and to a large extent have grown out of them. High ideals have worked powerfully toward the elevation of society; antisocial ideals sometimes work powerfully in the opposite direction. Each generation gets most of its ideals from the preceding one.

Religious, political and economic liberty, fraternity, democracy, peace, happiness, intellectual attainment, justice and many other ideals have affected society deeply. History is full of men and women who have died rather than surrender their ideals and we have inherited that which was purchased by their sacrifice. Even the ideal of self-

advancement which plays so big a part in the life of modern civilized man has great significance, for, as Jerome tells us, "The ambitious man, building a pedestal for himself, leaves a monument to posterity."

The power of the past. Although the past is a powerful factor in the creation of the present, we are far more inclined now than formerly to examine freely what the past



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A storehouse of social heritage.

has to offer and reject as much of it as seems to stand in the way of progress. The primitive man's life was so thoroughly regulated by the customs handed down from generation to generation that he dared not attempt much that was new. Science, historical studies and other forces have carried us far away from the attitude of primitive man toward the past. China, Greece, Rome and other civilized nations, however, look upon their past as a golden age far more perfect than it really was. Many individuals idealize the past.

There is a progressive and a non-progressive type of

mind and the usefulness of the past in the life of each individual will depend largely on the use he makes of the material the past has to offer. A slavish following of it means stagnation without progress, while too rapid changes are apt to bring disorder which may cause us to lose much of the progress already made. The experience of mankind is rich and its value great to those who are ready to appraise it properly. Education produces a trained mind and is the key that will unlock this vast storehouse of power. How much would you give for that key?

Gratitude and the future. It is sometimes said that ingratitude is the worst characteristic a human being can possess. Are we ungrateful to the men and women who, through their work and sacrifice in the past, have made the present possible? Shall we accept the blessings poured out into the lap of our generation as so many things created for our generation alone, and squander them, or shall we accept these things as a trust, a gift from the past to the future, which we must pass on to the next generation? The stream of culture which we inherit is so attractive that the one who appreciates it fully must exclaim exultantly with Abbie Farwell Brown:

No matter what my birth may be,
No matter where my lot is cast,
I am the heir in equity
Of all the precious Past.

The art, the science and the lore
Of all the ages long since dust,
The wisdom of the world in store,
Are mine, all mine in trust.

Questions on the Text

1. Define social heritage.
2. What is Buckle's view concerning knowledge?

3. Compare our comforts and luxuries with those of a century ago.

4. Why do we lack a proper appreciation of our institutions?

5. Criticize custom and convention.

6. Name some ideals that have profoundly affected society.

7. Compare the attitude of primitive man and modern man toward the past.

8. Memorize Abbie Farwell Brown's stanzas, p. 43.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Trace the accumulation of the knowledge of one subject, and show how it has affected civilization.

2. What parts of our social heritage are you most anxious to acquire?

3. Report on some aspect of the Industrial Revolution.

4. Indicate the influence some institution has had on the history of the United States.

5. What are some helpful and harmful customs and conventions in your community?

6. Trace the history of one ideal.

7. How has science affected the power of the past?

8. Study the biography of a person who suffered because of something which forms a valuable part of our social heritage. How can you most appropriately honor that person?

9. What can you contribute to the well-being of the next generation?

10. *Resolved:* That the happiness of a people is in direct proportion to the richness of its social heritage.

11. *Resolved:* That we pay too little attention to the past.

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PART TWO—PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC TERMINOLOGY AND STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

THE PROBLEM: To get such a grasp of the most common special terms of economics, and such an understanding of the long history of economic development, that one can discuss and understand economic problems effectively.

Terminology. Each science has its special terms. Most of the special terms of economics are in general use but they frequently do not have there exactly the meaning they have when used by the economists.

Economics is the science which deals with the relationship of man and wealth. It is "a study of men as they live and move and think in the ordinary business of life," and "the social science which treats of that portion of human activity which is concerned with making a living" as defined by Alfred Marshall, the great English economist, and Professor H. R. Seager of Columbia University, respectively. It studies both wealth, and the activity of man as he increases or destroys wealth. It studies man as the maker of wealth and the effect of all kinds of wealth on the well-being of man. It attempts to discover and apply the fundamental principles of its field.

What does the economist mean by *wealth?* The goods which satisfy wants or desires are of two kinds: those which are superabundant, as is generally true of air and sunlight, and those which exist in too limited quantity to satisfy

everybody. The former are free goods. The latter are economic goods; that is, wealth. Both material objects and personal service are goods. The services of the barber who trims the farmer's hair are wealth as truly as the soil, seed, plow and labor that go into the making of the crop. Our wealth is increasing very rapidly in amount and in the variety of its forms.

Wealth has *value*. A thing to be valuable must possess two characteristics; it must be thought capable of satisfying in some measure a desire, and must be relatively scarce. Counterfeit money is very scarce but has no value because it does not satisfy a desire. Water satisfies very great desires, but the cup of it which one dips from the brook generally has no value because water is so plentiful that more cupfuls than are wanted can be dipped freely from the brook.

The *price* of a good is its value measured in terms of money. We do not give money for a good if we value the good less than the money.

The power of a good to satisfy a desire is its *utility*. Because the boy desires to eat the sound apple it has utility for him and he climbs to the top of the tree to secure it. Because no one desires to eat the rotten apple it has no utility and is left to the insects.

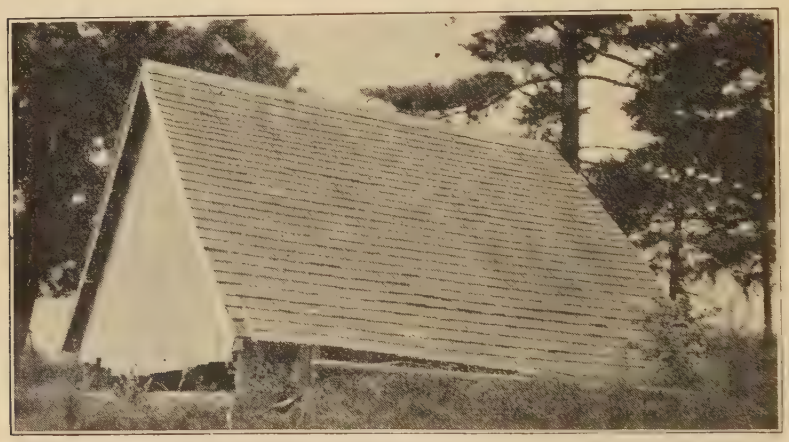
The creation of utilities is *production*. Our desires are many and the means of satisfying them many, but the one who contributes in any way toward the satisfaction of one of these desires is a *producer*.

The producer creates *form utility* by changing goods from the raw material to some stage of manufacture, or from some stage of manufacture to a more advanced stage or to the finished product. Many business organizations may coöperate to change the wool on the sheep into the more valuable form of a coat for man.

Place utility is created by transporting goods to places

where there is greater need of them. If all the shoes manufactured in Brockton, Massachusetts, had to be used there, shoes would soon be a drug on the market in that city and the shoe manufacturers would go bankrupt.

Time utility is created by keeping a good until there is greater need of it than at a former time. The cold storage



AN ICE HOUSE

The farmer by gathering free ice in winter from neighboring ponds and storing it until summer creates time utility. What significance for health has ice from ponds?

plant may sell at Christmas for one dollar the same commodity it bought during the summer for fifty cents or less.

The *expense of production* is the money value of the outlay used in production. The *cost of production* is any hardships, fatigue, suffering, or other undesirable conditions involved. If a machinist who works for five dollars a day has aching arms and sore eyes because of fatigue and dust, the expense of his labor is five dollars but its cost is the aching, soreness, and any other undesirable results to the machinist on account of the work. We should strive to produce at the least social cost. Business men and some economists use *cost* synonymously with *expense*.

The use of utilities to satisfy desire is *consumption.* The great variety of the forms of our wealth makes countless forms of consumption possible. When production or consumption is carried on with as little waste as possible it is *economical.*

Because units of a good have different utilities for different people there is *exchange:* that is, buying and selling. If two people exchange commodities with each other directly, as when the dairyman trades a pound of butter to the poultryman for a dozen eggs, we call it *barter*; but most exchange is now a complicated affair, and goods frequently pass through the hands of many dealers.

A *market* is the field in which the price of a good is determined. Many markets are now nearly world-wide. Our wheat and other raw materials have been carried to other continents since colonial times, and our steel and various manufactured products are found at present in all impor-

Courtesy, New York Curb Market

Trading Floor of the New York Curb Market, Showing Members in Session

Great excitement is frequently in evidence as millions of dollars worth of stock changes hands almost in the twinkling of an eye.

tant countries. The markets for many different goods are closely related. A rice famine in China affects the price of all cereals that the Chinese can substitute for rice. It also affects the price of any goods the Chinese usually buy with the money they make on rice.

Supply is the number of units of a good that would be offered for sale at a given price, although some writers use the term to refer to the total number of units of the commodity in the market. A rise in price of a commodity will increase its supply as more people will be willing to sell for the higher price. A decline in price will decrease the supply.

The *supply price* is the price necessary to induce producers to provide a certain supply. If trappers will get eight thousand fox hides when such hides are ten dollars apiece, but will not get so many when the price is lower, the supply price of eight thousand fox hides is ten dollars.

Supply is *elastic* when the number of units that would be sold varies greatly with a change in price. It is *inclastic* when the opposite is true.

Demand is the number of units of a good that would be bought at a given price. It is made up of two elements: a desire great enough to make one willing to pay a certain price and the ability to pay it.

The *demand price* is the price that would result in a stated number of units being sold. If one thousand knives of a certain grade could be sold at one dollar apiece, but more than that number could not be sold for one dollar, the demand price for the one thousand knives is one dollar. If there were only six hundred knives the demand price would doubtless be more than one dollar. If there were more than a thousand the demand price would be less than one dollar.

Demand is elastic when the number of units that would be bought varies greatly with a change in price. It is inelastic when the opposite is true.

When one good cannot be produced without another—as in the case of cotton and cottonseed—there is *joint cost.* When one good is desired only in conjunction with another —as material and labor when a building is to be built—there is *joint demand.*

Money income is income measured in money. *Real income* is income measured in purchasing power. If a person has his money wages doubled but prices have also doubled, his real income—the significant thing—has not changed.

Each factor which contributes to the increase of wealth generally receives remuneration for its part in production. *Distribution* is this division of that which is produced among the factors which aid production. We call these divisions rent, wages, interest and profits.

Land, labor and capital are fundamental factors of production. Many writers regard the enterpriser as a fundamental factor and sometimes exclude all the activity of the enterpriser from labor. The government is occasionally spoken of as a fifth fundamental factor, but this causes confusion of thought as the other factors are included in the governmental control.

Land signifies the gifts of nature, and includes the surface of the earth, minerals, wild plants and animals, waterfalls, climate and other items of the geographic environment.

Rent is the return to the owners of land for its part in production.

Labor is the contribution of human beings in production. It includes both physical and mental activities.

Wages are the return to human beings for their part in production irrespective of the size of the remuneration. Contractual wages exist when one works for another. When an individual directs his own business we call the return for his labor wages of management.

Capital is wealth which has been produced and is used

to produce more wealth. It includes all material objects used in production except land and man, and all inventions or other forms of knowledge which aid production.

Interest is the return to the owners of capital for its part in production.

The person or other unit that controls a business is known as the *enterpriser, organization,* or *management.*

Profits are the remuneration of this unit for its part in production. Some writers prefer to include wages of management as a part of profits and include under the term *wages* only the remuneration of contractual labor.

The earlier stages of economic development. Our present economic life is the result of a long process of development extending back to the earliest days of the human race. Each generation built on the foundations laid by preceding generations. Progress was slow during most of this long period, but has been very rapid since the latter part of the eighteenth century. At different times in the history of various peoples certain characteristics were prominent and we can discern six stages of development, preceding the present stage.

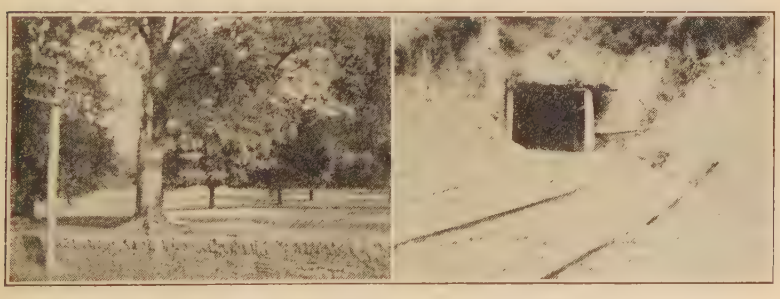
The *finding stage* is the lowest. In this stage man depended like the other animals on what he could find. Fruits, nuts, berries, roots, birds' eggs, dead animals, clams, worms and such other live animals as were too slow to escape were his food supply. For shelter he used trees, overhanging cliffs and caves. With teeth and bare fists he fought the other animals for the wealth which nature had provided.

The *hunting and fishing stage* which grew out of the finding stage saw man in the possession of a little meager knowledge and skill which enabled him to fashion rough implements and weapons, coöperate in hunting and fishing, use hide and fur to protect the body and to build rude shelters. A little crude agriculture was practiced. Even within this stage there was a significant range of culture.

The first man to fashion a rude stone weapon would have seemed almost like a lower animal to the Mohawk as he drew his bow in battle or built his V-shaped fences for capturing deer on land or fish in the stream.

The *pastoral stage* was characterized by domesticated animals. These animals furnished a far more abundant food supply than was generally provided by the wild animals that inhabited the land. Some of the animals also served as instruments of war and as draft animals in time of peace. This kind of culture made much migration necessary as the owners of the flocks and herds wandered to and fro in search of pasture and water. From a period before Abraham to our own time the nomads have formed interesting and important elements of the population of Asia. This stage seldom permitted large groups to unite permanently. It encouraged strife as the roving bands struggled for the better pastures.

The *agricultural stage* was characterized by a much more efficient type of agriculture than had previously existed, and the food supply contained a smaller proportion of meat.



Blue Grass Woodland and Coal Mine

Because primitive men valued the Kentucky woodlands very highly they fought for them so fiercely that they named this region "The Dark and Bloody Ground." Primitive man did not use the equally valuable minerals which lay beneath the surface in abundance in many parts of America. Did the white man have a right to drive out the Indian because he was supporting not more than a million people in a district where we now have some hundred and twenty millions? Is the parable of the talents applicable here?

A BLACKSMITH SHOP

Remnants of the handicraft stage remain. This shop serves a rich agricultural community, and the smith does a good business. Would Longfellow's smith feel at home in this shop?

Better implements and better methods of tillage had been developed. In many places property continued to be largely communal but in other places private rights in land were developing. This stage required permanent habitations and fostered village life. It also enabled many more people to live. The territorial basis of social and political organization tended to supersede the earlier basis of blood relationship, and a more complex social order—frequently containing many slaves—was developed. The people were usually peaceful. The most popular gods were those which had to do with vegetation.

The *handicraft stage* which was so prominent in Europe from the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century was characterized by the patronymic smith, miller, weaver and other craftsmen who produced largely for the local market. These craftsmen were called *patronymic* because the occupation frequently descended from father to son

for generations. This stage was usually connected with the towns, and developed the interesting social organization known as the guild system. Strict regulations were made by the guilds. Commerce increased and soon the capitalist merchant developed.

The *domestic* or *putting out stage* was dominated by the capitalist merchant who bought the raw material and sent it out to one household after another, each household doing

Courtesy, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE SPINNERS

What personal characteristics are required for this work? Does the quality of the work affect other households?

one part of the process of turning the raw material into the finished product, and being paid by the piece. As each household now carried through one stage of, instead of the whole, process, there had been a disintegration of technique, but there was greater concentration of control in the hands of the capitalist merchants. The capitalist merchants were generally manufacturing for a market larger than the local one. This system existed in Flanders and northern Italy by the fourteenth century, but was most important in England just before the beginning of the factory system and did much to bring that system into existence.

The present stage of economic development. The present stage of economic development is the *industrial* or *factory stage*. It was ushered in by the Industrial Revolution which was producing important changes in England during the eighteenth century and spread slowly to other countries, reaching the United States about the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The flying shuttle of Kay, the use of rollers in spinning by Wyatt and Paul, the water frame of Arkwright, the jenny of Hargreaves, the mule of Crompton, the power loom of Cartwright, the steam engine improved by Watt, the locomotive improved by Stephenson, the use of coke and improved technical developments in the metal industries, the changing attitude of the English toward social and industrial change, the new commercial interests, and the new realization of the value of mineral resources assisted in bringing in the industrial stage. This stage is characterized by concentration of labor, division of labor, supervision and discipline, wage system, increase and concentration of capital, machinery, mechanical power and rapid communication and transportation.

The rapid production of wealth has permitted a much higher plane of living than was possible before. It is a vital factor in American life.

Questions on the Text

1. Define and give an illustration of each special term mentioned.

2. Characterize each of the seven stages of economic development.

3. What personal characteristics do you think would have been most helpful in each stage of development?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Consult the index of a textbook in economics for terms not mentioned in this chapter.

2. Compare ten definitions of economics.

3. *Resolved:* That we think too much of wealth and too little of other values of life.

4. Report on the economic development of one primitive people.

5. Describe economic life in ancient and medieval times.

6. Outline the topic, "The Industrial Revolution in England," and show why England had such a revolution first.

7. Trace the economic development of your community.

8. Trace the development in the United States of one of the following: agriculture; lumbering; fishing; mining; invention and machinery; markets; stock exchange; industrial cities.

9. Do you believe that our rapid increase in wealth has been at the expense of personal character?

10. *Resolved:* That economic forces have been more influential than any other in the development of civilization.

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CHAPTER VI

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

THE PROBLEM: The creation of wealth is one of the essentials of progress. The distribution of the new wealth is also very important. Our problem is to find out how wealth is produced and distributed, and how production can be made more efficient and distribution more just.

The nature of production. Wrong ideas as to the nature of our modern complicated production have caused much political and social, as well as economic, misunderstanding and hostility. Frequently people engaged in one part of the production process believe those engaged in another part are nearly or quite unproductive and resent their having a reasonable return for their contribution. The unskilled laborer shoveling dirt may feel the executive sitting before his desk in "Sunday clothes" is not really earning a salary. The executive, on the other hand, may fail to appreciate the worth of the laborer.

Such wrong ideas were an important cause of the bitterness between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists at the beginning of our national history, and between the East and West during the political activities of the Populist and Labor parties in the latter part of the nineteenth century. They are still one source of such political strength as the Socialist party possesses.

The social misunderstandings and hostility are greatest in the great industrial and financial centers where the extremes of wealth and poverty exist. The bitterness between capitalists and laborers is largely due to the failure of each to value accurately the part played by the other. It is easy to read into such terms as "unproductive labor," "barren capital" and "unearned income" far more meaning

than is intended by the economist or the taxgatherer.

There is a good deal of misunderstanding and some bitterness in the rural districts between the merchants and the farmers. Their work is so different that it is difficult for each to appreciate fully the service of the other.

Anyone who increases economic goods is a producer. The good may be immaterial or material—the architect's plan of the house or the lumber to build the house; the poem or the paper on which the poem is written—but if it is capable of satisfying a human desire the one who made it is a producer.

We can think of our production process as divided into four parts: personal services, extractive industries, manufacturing and exchange.

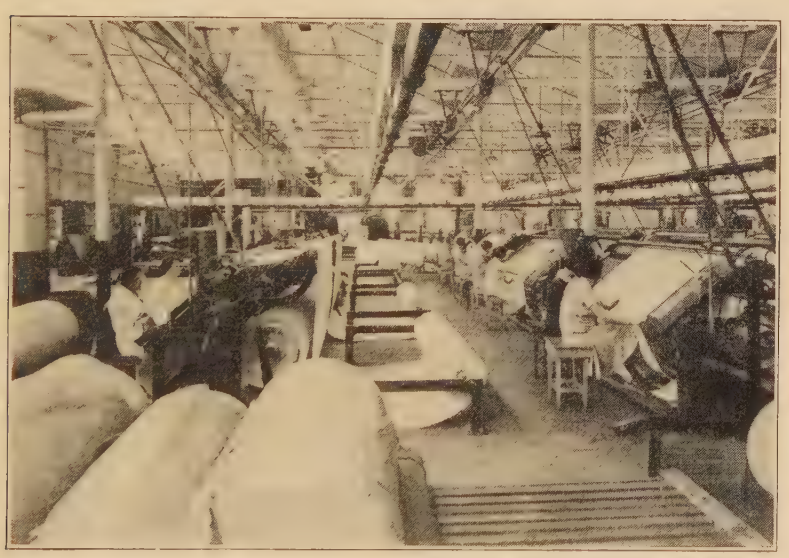
Personal service production has generally changed less than the other forms. The domestic servant of the twentieth century performs duties very much like the ones performed by the servants in the households of ancient times. The modern lawyer might well be mistaken for Cicero pleading a case, and the *Orations against Catiline* for some of the denunciations delivered in our legislative assemblies as economic questions are being considered. Physicians and others have made great progress in increase of knowledge and in the quality of service rendered, but the productive processes are seldom complicated.

Personal services have created much confusion in economics as the utility they create is not embodied in material form. They are sometimes spoken of as "consumable" labor because they satisfy desire directly.

Agriculture, pastoral pursuits, lumbering, mining, fishing, hunting and trapping are our principal extractive industries. Their relation to our natural resources is very close, and they furnish the greater part of our raw material. Most of them use a large amount of capital. The larger units of the mining and lumbering industries require execu-

tive ability of a high order, and the large organizations of farmers that are now developing require executives with excellent ability.

Our great system of manufacturing is a mighty two-faced giant who looks with one face toward the consumer and with the other toward the raw material or the partly



Courtesy, U. S. Women's Bureau

WOMEN INSPECTING CLOTH

One stage of a complicated system of production. What factors are present in greatest proportion?

finished product and asks simultaneously, "What do people want?" and "What is there that I can work into marketable form?" With ceaseless vigilance it is watching for new opportunities while it continues in large and small factories to make the products that have become more or less staple. Many of the processes of manufacture are extremely complex but the inventors have been able to provide machinery for a large proportion of these.

Exchange was of little importance in the earliest stages

of economic development. Even modern pioneer communities are sometimes nearly self-sufficing. In most advanced countries, however, exchange is very important. It was formerly thought that only one party to an exchange could gain but it is now known that exchange can be mutually profitable. Markets, merchants, money, credit, banking, facilities for communication and transportation, commercial law and a system of weights and measures are essential elements in a successful system of exchange.

As we turn to an analysis of the factors in production it must be borne in mind that the proper proportion between all the factors and the right use of each factor are frequently as important for successful production as the quality of the factors. The owner of a small farm cannot afford to spend large sums for agricultural implements or to employ large numbers of workmen. The crop would not bring enough to pay much interest or wages. Unless he uses his implements and workmen when and where they are needed most he is not apt to prosper.

Land and rent. The principal qualities of the surface of the earth which determine its significance are fertility, location, solidity and contour. The significance of these qualities, however, varies greatly according to the use made of the earth.

For agricultural purposes, the fertility of the soil is absolutely essential to productivity. Some fields are so poor that it is almost as difficult to get crops to grow in them as it is to get them to grow on a plank floor. Some poor spots in many fields remain barren year after year—they take as much seed as the rest of the fields but give nothing in return.

Location is also important for agricultural purposes because crops cannot be sold unless it is possible to get them to market. The desire of the people of the Mississippi Valley for a market for their produce led to the great

Louisiana Purchase. The privilege of using the Mississippi River caused western farms to increase in value.

Contour is very important for agricultural purposes for it is very difficult to cultivate steep hillsides. Special agricultural implements and terracing of the land, however, have met the problem of contour to some extent. Contour is closely related to fertility as soil generally washes from a hillside quickly when trees and grass have been removed. The writer saw the rain break terraces and wash much of the fertility of a school farm into the creek because too much grass had been cut from the terraces in order to make the farm more beautiful.

Some land cannot be cultivated because it is too soft to bear the weight of crops, implements or labor. Much marshy land is of this kind.

When the ground is scarcely worth cultivating, we say it is on the *extensive margin* of cultivation. Considerable portions of the semi-arid West are now on this margin.

When the ground has all the labor and capital applied to it that can be applied profitably, it is on the *intensive margin* of cultivation. Such land is profitable to cultivate; the difficulty lies in determining just how much capital and labor can be applied profitably.

As population increases and the value of agricultural products rises, poorer land is taken under cultivation and more labor and capital are applied to old land. As the extensive and intensive margins of cultivation are extended in this way, the value of land rises.

Solidity, location and contour are far more important than fertility in determining the value of land in cities. Where people have gardens or lawns, fertility is a factor, but the space for buildings and streets does not need fertile soil. In the downtown districts of large cities, solid rock foundations may prove the most desirable as they permit tall buildings to be erected easily and safely.

Courtesy, School of Rural Social Economics, University of Virginia

HAY HARVEST IN AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Production in rural districts is being studied more and more scientifically. The surveys made by state universities and other agencies are extremely valuable in securing data for creating more desirable conditions. Point out the factors of production in this picture. Do you think the factors are present in the proper proportion?

Location is very desirable in city lots. The land on the side of the street along which the crowds move may be very much more valuable than land directly across the street because people do not walk along that side in such numbers. Nearness to the city transportation terminals is an important factor. Would you walk five blocks to get an article if you could get the same thing just around the corner?

Many qualities affect the value of different kinds of land differently. The distance from the surface of the earth is a vital factor with minerals.

Improvements such as drainage systems, graded surfaces, and trees which have been planted, are capital, not land.

An important distinction, from the standpoint of taxation, between land and the other factors of production is

that it would continue to produce even though no social payment were made because of it. Wages are necessary to get people to work, and interest to get people to save capital, but the earth would not cease to produce if no rent were paid, although its fertility would doubtless not be conserved so well.

It is much more difficult to evade or pass on to the consumer a tax on land than a tax on capital or business. If a tax is laid on a building, one can build his next building in another city or state and not repair or rebuild the former. If a tax is placed on one's business, it is often possible to move one's business to another locality. One cannot move land so easily. When a business is taxed, it is frequently possible for the manufacturer, by raising the price of the product, to make the consumer pay part or all of the tax.

Why is there rent? There is rent because land is productive and there is not as much of the best land as is wanted. If we could produce just as well without land, or the supply of the best land were inexhaustible, there would be no rent. Air is very productive but because there is so much of it that we have no use for, it is a free good and no rent comes from it. Since land aids in the production of wealth it has a right to a share in the wealth which has been produced.

What determines the amount of rent? The productivity of the land always determines it. A piece of land that is highly productive pays much rent, one that is of very little use pays a low rent. The fertile valley pays a higher rent than the barren hillside because it will produce better. The mine where the coal contains a large percentage of useless rock does not pay as high rent as the mine of pure coal. The student who has dug clinkers from the bottom of the grate, stove or furnace will appreciate this fact.

Why do building sites in New York City today rent for millions of dollars when the same sites were rented by the

Dutch three centuries ago for a few cents? The principle which has just been stated explains this. The sites are more productive now than when the city was in the hands of the Dutch. Rent is usually very low in new countries because there is much more land than can be cultivated or used in other ways.

As the extensive and intensive margins of cultivation are extended, with the increase of population, rent tends to advance. Urban rent also tends to increase for similar reasons. These facts have an extremely important bearing on human well-being and social progress. People have to use land, so must pay rent no matter how high it may go. We can produce more laborers, more enterprisers and more capital, but we cannot create a new earth or raise the bottom of the ocean to give us more land to cultivate or build on. What should the owner of land do in the light of these facts? Should our national conservation policy make large use of them?

The *law of diminishing returns* is usually spoken of in connection with land and rent. It means that an unlimited amount of a factor cannot be used in connection with a unit of another factor as profitably as a smaller amount can. If a man were using fifty acres of land to grow corn he could afford to employ one man and one plow. Two men and two plows might be worth even more than twice as much as one man and one plow. The time would come, however, when an additional man and an additional plow would not contribute as much value as the first or second man and the first or second plow had done. Certainly no one would say one hundred men and one hundred plows would contribute one hundred times as much value as one man and one plow in cultivating the fifty acres of corn!

The law of diminishing returns is applicable to each factor. The wise producer balances the factors nicely against one another.

Courtesy, U. S. Forest Service

IDLE LAND

There are many millions of acres of idle land in the United States that should be put to work. Most of this is in rural districts but some of it is in cities. Study the idle land of your community. The U. S. Forest Service says this piece of land should be used to grow timber. What use should be made of some pieces of idle land in your community?

One should be careful to distinguish rent in the economic sense from the meaning in such popular expressions as "renting an automobile" and "renting a gun." The payment for the use of automobiles, guns and other forms of capital is interest.

Labor and wages. Professor Seager says the principal qualities which determine an individual's capacity as a producer are: health, physical strength and endurance, intelligence, judgment, ambition, energy, perseverance, imagination, mechanical ingenuity and technical knowledge. Some of these qualities are far more important for some kinds of labor than for others—and he might have

included integrity and other qualities—but it is a very suggestive list and invites our attention to the problem of securing these and other desirable characteristics.

So far as the future is concerned, wise eugenic control would greatly decrease the vast number of individuals whose inborn capacity is too small to make it possible for them to become efficient producers. We know the person of low mentality is far more apt than any one else to have children of low mentality, so that if we decrease the descendants of the people of low mentality, we shall limit the number of those who can never produce effectively. Helpful environmental control, especially during the early years of one's life, will do much to increase efficiency. More attention to personal hygiene, better health education, better health regulations and a more helpful public opinion would greatly increase health, physical strength and endurance.

Most of the desirable psychological characteristics could be increased by a system of education in which there is a greater creative element, and in which more attention is given to principles and rational discussions. The content and spirit of discussions and other educational forces outside the school would greatly help. Attentive practice, vocational education and diligent research will develop a greater degree of mechanical ingenuity and knowledge in special fields.

The supply of labor is very hard to regulate as it depends in large measure on causes which are not economic. The number of laborers cannot be increased or decreased quickly but the labor supply can be made to vary rapidly by increasing or decreasing the number of hours or the intensity of the work. The laborers are usually required to work overtime in the busy season of many occupations. By running the machinery more rapidly an employer may get more units done as the workers are expected to keep up with it.

The number of laborers in many kinds of work can be increased at once by drawing on related fields. For instance, when the building contractors need more carpenters for outside work it is possible to use cabinetmakers or others. There are, however, many non-competing groups, and occupational congestion may be had in one field with a scarcity in another.

The unskilled labor market is generally overcrowded, with wages too low to permit a wholesome plane of living. If those families which habitually furnish members of the unskilled classes were smaller, or we could train more of the unskilled for more remunerative employment, there would be a better occupational distribution.

The demand for labor generally fluctuates far more rapidly and radically than the supply. Changes of fashion and new inventions are two of the things which cause violent fluctuations in the demand for certain kinds of labor, but human beings cannot be reared overnight. Nor can they generally be trained for a new occupation quickly.

The great economic advantages of the division of labor and specialization are secured at the cost of much monotony and some narrowing of vision. The person who does one small, simple part of the process of manufacturing an article month after month and year after year may get extremely tired of doing that thing. One may also find it difficult to look beyond the narrow task to the varied interests of life. Our increasing leisure is a fine medicine for these ills if we use that leisure properly. What types of recreation are most effective for relieving monotony and broadening one's vision?

What determines the amount of wages? The chief executive of a large business organization may receive a hundred thousand dollars a year while some persons receive only a few cents a day, and social welfare, as well as one's personal interest as an actual or future wage earner, re-

quires an understanding of the causes of this difference. Wages cannot remain above that which the workers actually produce and they cannot remain below that which will enable the workers to live and have vitality enough to work. Here is the maximum and the minimum, for in one case it would be unprofitable to employ the worker and in the other there would be no one to be employed.

What determines the productivity of labor? The efficiency of the individual is important. The number of laborers compared to the amount of the other factors is also important. Unless there is much capital or land with which to work, wages are certain to be low. Unless there is organizing and executive ability enough to combine and use the factors effectively, the return to labor as well as to the other factors will be small.

The factor that is scarce will get the lion's share in distribution.

Although the tendency is for each factor to get a share in distribution proportionate to its contribution, the better bargaining position of the employer probably keeps wages far—sometimes very far—below the productivity of the workers. The superiority in bargaining power of the employer is due to his better knowledge of market conditions and of the value to him of the service of a single worker; to his greater ability to wait because labor perishes with each day's idleness, and because the laborer with small savings must accept work or suffer with the dependent members of his family for sustenance; to the possibility of substituting other factors for labor; and, frequently, to prestige and greater native ability.

Labor organizations have greatly improved the bargaining position of many groups of laborers. These organizations reduce the competition between laborers. Where John Jones and Tom Brown are loyal union men neither will accept less than the union wage. If they are not in the

union, one or both may be willing to accept a lower wage to get the job.

Wages are generally much above the minimum. This is due largely to the relatively large volume of wealth other than labor which exists in all industrial countries and to

Courtesy, Ford Motor Company

A TRADE SCHOOL

How will this industrial training affect the productivity and wages of these young men? Suggest possible social and political effects.

the standard of living which prevails. The volume of wealth enables labor to produce much more than the minimum. The standard of living generally causes each laborer to refuse to accept in times of normal or unusually great prosperity less than a wage sufficiently large to maintain such a standard.

Wages neither rise nor fall as rapidly as the price of commodities. When prices are rising the wage earners suffer. When prices are falling the wage earners have their greatest prosperity. Their real wages are highest then.

Wages in some occupations are much higher than in

others. General passenger agents of railroads get better wages than the ticket sellers who take our money in exchange for little slips of paper or cardboard. The kind of native ability required, the time and money necessary to train for the occupation, opportunity for promotion, social esteem, danger and disagreeableness of the work, and regularity of employment are some causes of this difference.

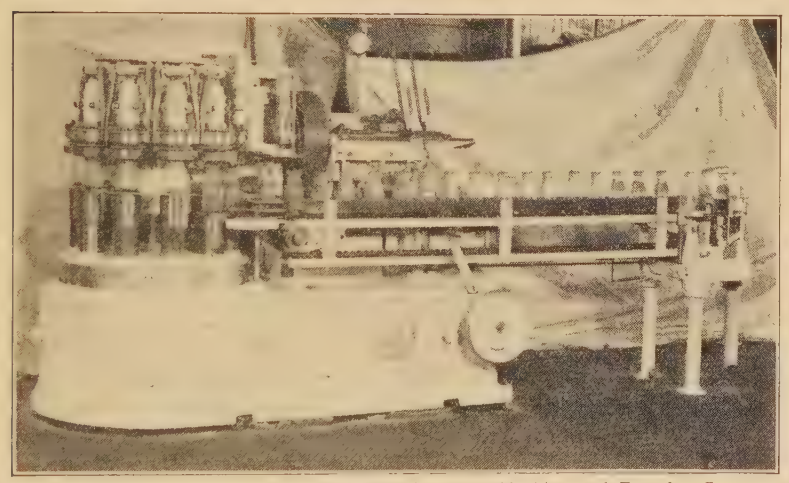
Most of us work—all of us should—and earn wages. Even the person who works for himself earns wages although he may not hand himself a pay envelope each week or month. What will each of us do and what wage will each receive? This is one of the most important questions ever asked. One's happiness as well as one's value to his family and society depend largely on the vocation one follows. This question should receive a great deal of careful study.

When a person "just happens" to get into a vocation there is little reason to expect success. Each boy and girl should study carefully his or her characteristics, the requirements of different occupations, the number of people in each vocation compared to its need, and the prospect of changes in each vocation. Sometimes one gets an opportunity during the summer or at other times to experiment with temporary work in the vocations one is considering. By the use of great care one can do much to avoid lifelong employment that is neither very pleasant nor very profitable. The unhappy worker is not generally the efficient worker.

Capital and interest. There are many kinds of capital: raw materials; machinery and numerous other instruments for manufacturing and transporting raw materials and the finished product; and the finished product in the hands of dealers. When capital is destroyed by a single use it is *circulating capital,* when it can be used repeatedly it is *fixed capital.* Coal which is used in production is an example of the former; a typewriter an example of the latter. Capital

that can be put to but one use—a locomotive, for instance —is *specialized capital;* that which can be put to many uses —raw materials and some other things—is *free capital.*

The services of capital are tremendous. Land, labor and the enterpriser are nearly helpless without it. It permits



Courtesy, American Machine and Foundry Company

MILK BOTTLE SEALING MACHINE

The use of labor-saving machinery continues to increase rapidly.

roundabout means of production which are very much more fruitful than many of the direct means which would prevail if there were no capital. It is necessary before specialization and experimentation on a significant scale are possible. Neither individual well-being nor social progress would be possible without it. Labor is most poorly paid and most hopelessly wretched in those countries where there is least capital.

The supply of capital in the world today is vastly greater than it was even one generation ago, and it continues to increase faster and faster. The cause of this accumulation is twofold; productiveness and saving. Each increase in

effective capital, labor and organization makes greater production inevitable. The principal conditions of saving are security, interest, the power to visualize the future and the will to make provision for it, family affection, favorable public opinion and habit.

Why is interest paid? Because capital is productive and there is not enough of it to be a free good. Nobody would pay interest for the use of a saw or sewing machine unless it were an aid to production. Many capital goods could be consumed and this consumptive use is a second cause of competition. The business automobile can be turned into a pleasure car, and certainly would be if it paid no interest.

Is interest justifiable? For centuries it was severely condemned. Even Aristotle with his fine mind and great learning declared that money was barren. He would not justify the taking of interest. The Christian Church for a long time called interest "usury" and forbade the taking of it. With clearer vision we now recognize the productivity of loans, so justify interest. This promotes social welfare, for the most efficient users of capital are able to secure a greater return for its use and so outbid those who would use it less effectively. Like each of the other factors capital has a right to a return equal to its contribution in production. The person who saves his wealth and uses it to produce more wealth deserves a return which the person who consumes his wealth does not.

What determines the rate of interest? The value of capital like the value of all other commodities is determined by the relation of demand and supply. But what determines the demand price and what determines the supply price?

The productiveness of capital determines the demand price. When capital is scarce, relative to the other factors, its productiveness is great and a high rate of interest prevails, but when capital is relatively plentiful interest is low.

The supply price is determined by the ability and inclination to save. People generally value present goods more than future goods so will not save without inducement. Would you just as soon put off until next month or next year the party or trip that you know will be so very enjoyable? You might consent to wait if an extra party were given you for waiting, not otherwise. Since capital is productive, those who save will insist on a share of the product as the price of the use of it.

The rate of interest is determined by adjustments of the movements of the demand and supply prices. Some people who need capital are in a position to pay a higher rate of interest than others because they can use capital to greater advantage. Some people with capital are in a position to take a lower rate of interest than others because they are in a position to use it less advantageously. A few people would be willing to pay ten per cent or more for capital rather than do without it, but they wish to pay as little as possible. A few people with capital would be willing to take two per cent interest or less rather than use the capital or let it be idle, but they wish to get as much as possible. More and more people will borrow as the interest rate falls. More and more people will lend as the interest rate rises. The actual rate is determined at any moment by the operation of these two forces.

There is less variation in the return to different kinds of capital than to different kinds of land, labor or enterprisers. The rates of interest in different fields tend toward equalization as new capital will enter the field that is paying a high rate of interest thus forcing the rate down, and old capital will be withdrawn from the field that is paying a low rate of interest thus enabling the capital that remains to secure a higher rate. If the retail stores are making a great deal of money and the shoe factories very little, more capital will be invested in retail stores and less in shoe fac-

tories. This will cause the retail stores to secure a lower rate of interest than before and the shoe factories a higher rate.

In those fields where there is the greatest risk to principal, the rate of interest is generally very high. It is said that three successful trips of a Southern blockade runner during the Civil War were profitable even if the ship were captured on the fourth attempt.

The enterpriser and profits. The organization of land, labor and capital is essential to efficient production. Much greater risks have to be borne in the organization and direction of production than is generally borne by the laborer or the owners of land and capital. There are responsibilities connected with an organization which someone must assume. The enterpriser is a great benefit to all the factors for without the services of this factor there would be very little wealth created and most of us would be poverty-stricken.

The increases in capital, labor supply, population and complexity of modern life make the function of the enterpriser increasingly important, and more and more attention is given by the economist, the public and the government to this factor. Frequently the same person is both enterpriser and manager, for the owner often directs his business in person. Sometimes the enterpriser appoints the manager and leaves complete control in his hands. Usually, however, the enterpriser exercises the right to share in the direction of the business except in the case of those corporations in which the stockholders are so widely scattered that they delegate power to a board of directors.

The most important legal forms of business organization are the *individual proprictorship*, the *partnership* and the *corporation.*

Where one person owns the entire business he has com-

plete responsibility and is personally responsible for all debts. Few large businesses are of this type, but a very large number of small ones are. Not many people have money enough to finance a large business. Those who have money enough to do this hesitate to organize a business in this way as its failure might take away all their wealth—that which is not in the business as well as that which is. This form of proprietorship permits greater unity of control and greater freedom from government regulations.

In the partnership, two or more persons share the ownership and control. Each is usually responsible for all debts made by any partner, but responsibility may be limited by a *limited-liability* partnership. Since each partner is responsible for all debts, an inefficient or dishonest partner may ruin the others. One should be extremely careful in forming a partnership. It lacks the unity of control of the individual proprietorship and brings more control by the government, but secures more managing ability and the personal interest of more than one person in the success of the business.

The corporation is an association of persons empowered by law to act as a person. The members of the association are stockholders and have power to choose directors who control. Recently some important corporations are issuing some stock which does not carry with it the usual voting privileges. In the United States a corporation generally has perpetual life, but in Europe its charter is commonly limited to a specified number of years, and it must apply for a new charter if it wishes to continue its existence. A corporation can sue, be sued, own property and do other things which are characteristic of individuals. The stockholders are seldom liable for debts beyond the amount of stock subscribed.

The corporate form of business organization furthers

large, powerful business units, and we have such industrial giants as the United States Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, which employ scores of thousands of men and women and do a business of more than a billion dollars annually. Some of the large business

Courtesy, General Motors Corporation

ASSEMBLING AUTOMOBILES

The corporate form of business organization makes possible great aggregations of capital which in turn promote large-scale production.

combinations that were formed a generation ago had such vicious practices toward competitors, the public and the government that they were denounced on every hand and the Sherman Antitrust Law of 1890 and the Clayton Act of 1914 were passed to curb them. Since the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission there has been a greater disposition on the part of the Federal Government to advise rather than prosecute "big business."

The great business combination has apparently come to stay as it means economy in some fields. It permits greater division of labor, more highly specialized and larger machinery, more experimentation, economy in buying and selling, and a better use of by-products.

The government is frequently an enterpriser. A majority of our large cities and many of the small ones own and operate their water systems. Many also own their lighting systems. A few street railway systems are in public hands. The government usually charges those who make use of the public utilities enough to pay the expenses of maintaining them.

The telephone, telegraph and some other forms of public utilities are privately owned and operated.

The public utilities affect the public vitally. They usually operate under monopolistic franchises and are subject to much stricter governmental control than business generally. They are suited to large-scale production. Professor Taussig thinks, "It is not too much to say that the future of democracy will depend on its success in dealing with the problems of public ownership and regulation."

Monopoly gives rise to many perplexing problems. The legal monopolies such as the post office and those secured by patents are not so perplexing as those secured by franchise or due to large organizations of capital. The desire to secure a greater degree of monopoly was a big factor in creating the trusts, and the desire to prevent it was the chief one behind our antitrust regulation. Where economy of production is secured by monopoly we should generally grant it, but take care that sufficient control is exercised to safeguard the public.

With so many great business problems before us, is it any wonder that the business school is taking a place abreast of the other great professional schools!

Profits! Profits!! Give me profits!!! This is what the

modern business organization is exclaiming with no uncertain accent as it reaches out its hand for a share of wealth. Many organizations make large profits and a much larger number moderate profits; but a vast number suffer losses, and some economists believe the losses are as great as the gains so that when we consider business as a whole there is no such share as profits.

Since the return for the labor of directing a business —whether the work is performed by the enterpriser or a manager—is wages of management, the causes of profits must be found in the risks involved, unforeseen favorable changes in prices or other items, a superior bargaining position to that of one or more of the other factors, a monopoly, or the personal interest in the business by the owner because he is the owner. Many dealers who had a large supply of goods on hand when prices went up during the World War made very large profits.

Profits tend toward equalization between different kinds of business as new enterprisers enter a field where profits are high and old ones leave the field where they are low. How eager the business man is to find out which businesses are yielding the greatest profits! Many enterprisers conceal their great profits by using them for equipment, dispensing them to officers as salaries, and giving stock to members of the corporation or selling it to them for less than its market value.

Profits are usually low in fields which require little ability. Because it is easy to succeed in them, many enterprisers enter the field. Fewer enterprisers are driven out by losses. Competition is so great because of the large number of organizations in the same field that few of the organizations make large profits. Why are there so many grocery stores in towns and small cities? Does it take much ability to run a small grocery store?

Profits are frequently very high where there is a mo-

nopoly. This is true because the seller does not have to meet competition, so can set any price he wishes so long as the public prefers to pay it rather than go without the article. In a monopoly there may be very little connection between the cost of manufacturing and the selling price. Patent medicine may sell for one dollar or more when it costs less than one cent to manufacture it.

Profits are justified when they are secured as a result of the enterpriser's contribution to production. He has a right to the new wealth because he has created it. Social justice demands that he get it. If legitimate profits were confiscated, there would be a great decline in the productiveness of modern industry. Have the heavy business taxes levied since the beginning of the World War made business less productive?

Profits are not justified when they are secured by unfair practices. We should be more sensitive to this fact so that we would criticize severely the business man who engages in such practices. Competitors and society have as much right to demand that the enterpriser abide by the rules of business as players and spectators have to demand that each player abide by the rules of the game. Why not prepare a book of rules for the game of business and discuss them with your companions!

Questions on the Text

1. Discuss the nature of production.
2. What qualities influence the value of land? Why is rent paid?
3. How can we increase the qualities which make labor efficient?
4. What influences have a part in determining wages?
5. Why is the supply of capital increasing rapidly?
6. Justify interest. What influences the rate of interest?
7. Why is the enterpriser increasing in importance? What are the three important forms of this factor?
8. Why do profits arise? How are they concealed?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. *Resolved:* That it is the duty of every person—except children, the defective and the aged—to produce more than he, or she, consumes.

2. What are the most productive industries in your community?

3. What qualities give the land of your community its value? How can its value be increased?

4. Criticize Ricardo's views on rent.

5. Give an estimate of yourself as a producer. How can your productive capacity be improved most effectively? Should you choose the occupation in which you think you can be most productive?

6. Consult each of five boys and five girls as to what occupation you and each of them should choose.

7. Explain and criticize the following theories of wages: cost of subsistence theory; wages fund theory; residual claimant theory; bargaining theory; specific productivity theory.

8. Will the rapid increase in capital ultimately make it essentially a free good?

9. Is your education capital? What will be its influence on your productivity?

10. Should security of principal or the rate of interest receive first consideration in making a loan?

11. Make five favorable and five unfavorable criticisms of modern business.

12. Trace the history of one trust.

13. Develop the topic: "Monopoly."

14. Discuss the use of profits.

15. Do profits rise and fall more rapidly than prices?

16. Report on one business organization in your community and stress the proportion of the factors used.

17. *Resolved:* That one's share in distribution is generally a fair index of one's contribution to production.

18. *Resolved:* That more public utilities should be owned and operated by the government.

19. *Resolved:* That the great inequalities of wealth of individuals are conducive to economic progress.

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CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE PROBLEM: Production and distribution are accompanied by much strife. Strife is destructive. Industrial strife is nearly always harmful to one party and is often harmful to all those engaged in it. The public also suffers. Why is there strife between employer and employee? What can be done to get more helpful relations?

Changing relationships. Before the middle of the eighteenth century there was little concentration of workmen in large factories. The employer generally came in daily personal contact with the workmen, understood their problems and saw their needs much better than the modern employer of hundreds of workers can do. The employer usually worked with the others and the plane of living frequently did not differ widely. A large proportion of employees looked forward to the time when they would be employers. A very large proportion of the industrial workers owned the small businesses where they worked.

The Industrial Revolution brought great changes in the relation of employer and employee. The factory system was introduced into the United States about 1800 and after the Civil War increased by leaps and bounds. Many evils and much misunderstanding and hatred arose between employer and employee. In the United States, fertile, cheap land was available until the latter part of the nineteenth century and this offered a way of escape for the dissatisfied workmen, but that road is practically closed now.

The modern corporation by issuing new stock or bonds can expand indefinitely if it can find a market for the stock or bonds; and the concentration of capital and labor continues. Nearly one hundred corporations in the United

States earn ten million dollars or more each in a prosperous year. Each of a dozen of these probably has assets worth more than one billion dollars. Thousands of individuals may own stock in a corporation, the policy of which is determined by a small group of directors, and a hired force who may own much or none of the stock.

A RURAL FACTORY

Part of this plant was erected long before the integration of industry had proceeded far. The turrets of the *Monitor* were forged here. The plant is being abandoned by the large corporation that owns it as it cannot compete with the larger units of the corporation in the city.

Points of conflict. Remuneration is probably the most significant point of conflict between employer and employee. Each strives to secure as large a share in the distribution of the products of industry as possible. The one who is in the better bargaining position usually has the stronger voice in determining the wage. The member of the labor union generally contends for a uniform time wage; many employers prefer to adjust the time rate to each individual, or to pay a piece wage. The laborer says a uniform wage is the only way to prevent laborers from underbidding each other and forcing wages down. The employer says it is unjust to pay the same wage to workmen whose work differs in quality or quantity.

Much controversy arises over the hours of labor. The employer says longer hours mean more wages as well as

profits. He calls attention to the very long hours that were customary generations ago. The employee calls attention to the harm done to the body and mind by overexertion and fatigue, the large number of accidents due to fatigue, and the good which comes from recreation. Overtime causes much controversy, although many workmen are especially glad to work overtime when the wage per hour is greater for the extra time.

The rate of work and discipline also cause much friction. Many observers have noted the speeding up of industry with its additional wear and tear. The tendency of the employer is to stress profits. The employee desires to work at the speed which gives the least discomfort. The employer wishes a large product at the end of the day's work. The employee wishes to have much energy left at the close of work—energy that will enable him to enjoy his recreation, or, at least, permit him to rest in comfort.

The physical conditions of the working plant affect both comfort and health, and are frequently causes of conflict as the laborer strives to secure more desirable environment, and the employer strives equally hard to reduce expenses. Heating the plant in winter, cooling it in summer, ventilation, light, seats—especially for women—and safety devices are some of the important items of controversy.

The proportion of the factors of production is a very important cause of trouble. If labor is scarce wages are high, and the laborer wishes to keep immigrant labor from America and keep the laborers who are here from entering his trade or occupation. Unemployment is especially significant in times of industrial depression, and the labor turnover is wasteful to employer and employee.

The enterpriser and labor frequently disagree as to the limitation of output. The enterpriser desires the largest net revenue, but the laborer feels that the question of the effect of decreased production on labor should be consid-

ered. Closely associated with this has been the opposition of labor to the introduction of labor-saving machinery. The enlightened labor leaders now see that it is unwise to resist more extensive use of such machinery.

The ownership of the tools of production is a fundamental cause of conflict and many workmen believe they have a right to own the tools with which they work. This problem has great psychological and social, as well as purely economic, significance. The person who owns the equipment used is apt to feel differently toward his work and toward society. He does not have the class consciousness that makes him feel hostile toward the capitalist.

The educational value of the work and the opportunity it gives for training for more desirable employment is a cause of conflict. The employee wants his work to prepare him for a better position. The employer desires the maximum present production of the worker. Is the position of the employee or employer more nearly in accord with social well-being and progress?

Many points of conflict are connected with union activity involving the right to organize, the closed shop, and the walking delegate. Many employers are not ready yet to concede the right to organize, and dismiss employees because of union membership. Many other employers admit the right of their employees to form unions but refuse to have any business dealings with the unions. The employer generally looks upon the walking delegate as a busybody and trouble maker. The unions believe he is necessary to prevent the employer's taking advantage of workmen.

The closed shop has produced some of the bitterest conflicts in which organized labor has taken part. Organized labor believes its position is insecure as long as the employer is free to employ nonunion men. Many employers and nonunion men believe the closed shop is one of the most unfair and harmful forms of monopoly.

The interest of the public. The public is realizing more and more keenly its vital interest in industrial relations. A dispute between great organizations of labor and employers may become a national peril. The threatened railway strike of 1916 as we were being drawn into the war and the great coal strike of 1921 brought home to the American people the danger to national prosperity of a great industrial disturbance. If the great strike of 1926 in England had been a long one it would doubtless have affected business in all parts of the civilized world. Each great coal strike is accompanied by much agitation designed to secure interference by Congress and the President. Presidents Cleveland, Roosevelt, Wilson and Harding have been influential at the time of dangerous industrial disputes in various fields. It is largely because of the effect of labor disturbances on the public that we are getting so many labor laws.

The conditions of labor affect the general health of the community. Unemployment increases poverty and crime. The limitation of output and the introduction of labor-saving machinery condition the amount of goods the public has to consume and the price of them Education and training of the worker affect the social and political life of each community.

Labor organizations. Professor R. F. Hoxie divides labor organizations according to function into four groups: business unions, friendly or uplift unions, revolutionary unions, and predatory unions. The Knights of Labor was once an influential example of the friendly union and the Chicago division of the Industrial Workers of the World is a revolutionary union which has attracted much attention, but the American unions are generally business unions whose purpose is to maintain present terms and conditions of employment or secure more desirable ones.

Labor organizations are of four structural types or some

combination of these types. The craft union is composed of the members of a single craft or trade. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is one of our strongest craft unions. The industrial union is composed of the members of an entire industry. The United Mine Workers of America is a very influential industrial union. The labor union is open to all laborers and sometimes includes others beside laborers. The Knights of Labor was our best-known union of this type. The federation is formed by the union of craft, industrial and labor unions. The American Federation of Labor is organized in this way.

Modern trade unionism began before the close of the eighteenth century, but for decades the growth of the movement was very slow. The strict laws of Parliament during the first quarter of the nineteenth century prevented much progress in England, and industrial conditions in other countries were not far enough advanced to call important organizations into being. The early unions in the United States were small, local, transitory groups. Many were destroyed by the panic of 1837, and some by their political activity.

The unions from 1840 to 1850 were largely idealistic, and included reformers from all classes of society. They aroused much interest and sympathy but did not bring about much reform.

Between 1850 and 1860 a few better organized, more practical unions were formed on a national basis, and some of the most important of these united after the Civil War. The great industrial expansion and the formation of trusts were accompanied by much agitation and activity in the ranks of organized labor.

In 1881 the American Federation of Labor came into being. This federation is by far the most important labor organization in America and in 1920 had four and a half million members. It has somewhat more than three and

a quarter million members at present and includes more than thirty thousand local and a hundred national and international unions. The four great railway unions, some of the most powerful of the clothing workers' unions, and a few other important organizations have not joined it.

There are some four million members of labor unions in the United States. Labor unionism is stronger in some of the European countries than here. A recent survey showed more than eight million members of unions in Germany, about eight million in Great Britain, five million in Russia who did not belong to the International Federation, over two million in Italy, a million and a half in France, a million in Poland, and considerable numbers in other countries.

Employers' associations. A few employers' associations were in existence by 1800, but the first important national ones were formed soon after the Civil War. They have become especially significant in the last twenty-five years. They are formed primarily to deal with labor.

Some of these associations are conservative, peaceful, and practice collective bargaining; others are hostile to organized labor and desire to destroy it. The militant type is now becoming relatively more important. The employers' associations are very powerful financially and have proved their ability to hold their own in conflict with even the largest labor organizations. Some of the most powerful associations are the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades Association and the National Founders' Association.

Methods of conflict. There is *collective bargaining* when a group of employees or their representatives meet one or more employers to make an agreement concerning the terms of employment. Collective bargaining frequently results in a *trade agreement.* The agreement may be made for the union by national, district, or local officers or special delegates, and is generally voted on by the locals. The

individual employer may accept the agreement or it may be accepted by representatives of the national employers' association or other group of employers. These agreements specify hours of work, wages, and frequently provide for a union shop, apprenticeship, and other things of much or little importance. We call this peaceful method of adjusting disputes *conciliation.*

The *strike* is a widely used method of conflict and may be local, national, or international. It may include a single trade or group of unskilled workers, or include workers from all industries who will coöperate. During the last fifty years there have been on the average considerably more than one thousand strikes a year in the United States, including such important ones as the Pullman strike of 1894, the anthracite coal strike of 1902, and the bituminous coal strike of 1919. During and just after the World War there were on the average about thirty-five hundred strikes a year, but the average is now about one-third that number.

Some radicals believe labor should enforce its demands by a general strike of all workmen in all occupations. The threat of such a strike caused the government of Norway in 1915 to abandon its plan to introduce compulsory arbitration and caused Denmark in 1920 to yield to certain socialist demands, but attempts to use such a strike have nearly always failed. Such attempts were made in Sweden in 1909, in France in 1920 and in England in 1926.

The *lockout* is used much less widely than the strike but is sometimes used very effectively. The employer can make a careful survey of conditions before adopting this policy and choose the time when there is the greatest prospect of success. He tries to choose a time when he is in the best position and his employees in the worst position to endure the conflict.

The primary and secondary *boycott* are effective weapons where the courts permit their use. The primary boycott—

an agreement not to patronize an employer or merchant who sells his goods—is usually legal, but the secondary boycott—the attempt to get a third person to refuse to patronize—is usually illegal. Labor leaders sometimes publish a list of employers whom they consider unfair to labor and a list of employers whom they consider fair to labor. The employers also circulate a list of objectionable or acceptable employees. The former is known as the *black list,* the second as the *white list.*

Employers have been able to secure from the courts such a wide use of the injunction in labor disputes that the use of the injunction is justly receiving much criticism. Its use in the Debs Case at the time of the Pullman strike, in the Buck Stove and Range Company Case, and at other times, caused so much criticism that Congress by the Clayton Act of 1914 limited the use of the injunction in labor disputes, but the courts have partly nullified the Clayton Act.

Some of the more radical individuals and unions believe direct, lawless methods such as the destroying of the property of the employer is the quickest and surest way to secure desirable results.

Mediation and arbitration. When an uninvited third party attempts to settle a dispute there is *mediation.* When the parties to a dispute are bound by the decision of an individual or board there is *arbitration.* If the parties voluntarily submit their dispute to a third party and agree to abide by the decision there is *voluntary arbitration.* If the government requires the disputants to abide by a decision there is *compulsory arbitration.*

There has been a great deal of conciliation, mediation and some voluntary arbitration in the United States, but compulsory arbitration is scarcely known here. The Federal government has provided compulsory investigation of disputes affecting railways, created the Board of Mediation and Con-

ciliation by the Newlands Act of 1913, established a Railroad Labor Board in 1920, and in 1926 abolished the Railroad Labor Board and provided by the Watson-Parker Law for mediators appointed by the President, but much less has been accomplished toward settling disputes than was expected.

The Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor has been influential in settling disputes. In 1925 it handled five hundred and fifty-nine trade disputes and was unable to bring satisfactory settlements in only sixty-four. The agents of this service visit scenes of disputes and try to persuade the disputants to come to an agreement, but they have no authority to require anything. Nearly every state has one or more boards of conciliation, mediation, or arbitration, which are sometimes influential in securing agreements.

Compulsory arbitration was begun in New Zealand in 1894 when strikes and lockouts were made crimes. It was soon extended to Australia and its success in Australasia has created a profound impression. The Mussolini code of 1926 in Italy which makes strikes and lockouts crimes punishable by imprisonment, and empowers a government official to fix wages and decide other causes of dispute is one of the most radical attempts ever made to prevent interruption of production. Public opinion in the United States seems to be moving in the direction of compulsory arbitration for a few fundamental industries.

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations was one of our most interesting experiments in safeguarding the interest of the public through compulsory arbitration. In 1920 Kansas created this court of three persons appointed by the governor with the consent of the state senate.

The Court had jurisdiction over public utilities and the industries engaged in the manufacture or transportation of food products, clothing, and fuel. The law declared these

industries were "affected with a public interest and therefore subject to supervision by the State as herein provided for the purpose of preserving the public peace, protecting the public health, preventing industrial strife, disorder and waste, securing regular and orderly conduct of the businesses directly affecting the living conditions of the people of this State and in the promotion of the general welfare." When a dispute arose between employer and employee the Court had authority to make investigation, decide hours of labor, working and living conditions, practices, and a minimum wage and, in extreme cases, take over and operate the establishments. Heavy penalties were provided for those who refused to obey the Court.

The Supreme Court declared the compulsory provisions of the law unconstitutional, as the fixing of wages and hours in individual establishments by a state agency took away from employer and employee the liberty of contract and rights of property, which were guaranteed by the Constitution. The Court has been abolished.

Profit sharing. In profit sharing the employee receives a share of the profits in addition to his specified wage. The purpose of profit sharing is to improve the quality or quantity of the employee's work by increasing his interest in the success of the business, and the proportion of the profits he is to receive is usually agreed on in advance. The proportion of the profits each workman receives usually varies directly with his wage and length of service.

Frequently profit sharing takes the form of a sliding scale in which the amount each workman receives rises or falls as the price of the finished product rises or falls. Some of our largest industrial concerns permit employees to buy stock on favorable terms and receive a special return beyond the dividends to other stockholders for each share they retain permanently. In France a part of the profits of many concerns goes to form an insurance fund for old

age or other pensions. Some employers allow themselves a salary and share all profits with the employees. Some companies pay an annual bonus in times of prosperity and although this is not usually spoken of as profit sharing it has much the same effect, since the workmen know the bonus is conditioned on the prosperity of the concern.

The Pillsbury Mills at Minneapolis and the Ford automobile works at Detroit are large firms having profit sharing. This form of participation in profits is rather widespread in the United States and in some instances seems to be productive of good results.

Many economists and others believe it is harmful to labor in the long run and is a subtle method of inducing the workmen to accept lower wages than they would otherwise do. Labor leaders realize it hurts organized labor and are strongly opposed to it.

Stock ownership. The effect on industrial relations of the ownership of stock by employees has received too little attention. As the prosperity of large numbers of workmen increases they are investing in the stock of corporations more and more. When they buy stock in the corporation for which they work they become part owners of the tools with which they work. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and other large corporations are permitting employees to buy a limited number of shares at less than the market value. More than one-third of the eleven thousand employees of the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company are shareholders.

The psychological effect of the ownership of even a few shares of stock is frequently very great, and tends to make the workmen feel more kindly toward the employer. The attitude of the workman, too, is influenced by the fact that the "employer" in many concerns is a large number of stockholders scattered throughout the country. It is a good deal easier to hate one person or a small group of persons

than the hundred and fifty thousand stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation.

Producers' coöperation. Producers' coöperation is an attempt to eliminate the employer altogether and enable the workmen to keep all the profits. The workmen are the enterprisers who must furnish capital as well as labor, and share the losses as well as gains. This has appealed to many as the real solution of the problems connected with industrial relations.

So far, however, the good results have been meager and most of the experiments have been failures. It is difficult for the workmen to secure capital for large enterprises, and they have usually been unwilling to pay salaries large enough to attract and retain managers with sufficient ability to direct large enterprises successfully. The successful experiments have generally been in small enterprises where the problems have not been complicated.

Industrial democracy. "The labor movement is primarily a concerted effort to achieve industrial democracy, which means self-rule, self-control, the self-direction of the masses in their efforts to gain a livelihood." This sentence from Professor R. T. Ely's *Outlines of Economics* suggests the real problem of industrial democracy: the securing by the workers of a greater degree of control over the conditions of employment.

Many intelligent observers believe the autocratic control in industry of the employer who says, "This is my business; I'll run it as I please," is weakening and must ultimately pass out of existence just as the doctrine of the divine right of kings and autocratic control have passed from the political field in most progressive countries. Some students of industrial conditions believe lack of a voice in determining the conditions of labor does more than low wages to make employees dissatisfied.

Many attempts have been made since 1915 to bring about

a more democratic control and secure a better understanding between employers and workmen. The Whitley Plan established in England during the World War is the most significant movement in the direction of industrial democracy. This provides for a national council composed of an equal number of representatives of trade unions and em-

Courtesy, The Procter and Gamble Company

THE IVORYDALE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The chairman is the employees' representative of the board of directors. Committees sit twice a month and at alternate meetings confer with representatives of the management upon any matters of interest to the employees.

ployers' associations to decide wages, hours, and conditions of employment; district councils of employees and employers to carry out decisions of the national council; and committees of employees and employers in each establishment to arrange work rules, welfare work and other matters.

A large number of shop committees were organized in the United States during the World War and some are still in existence. Sometimes the high officials form a cabinet, the foremen and supervisors a senate, and the

other employees or their representatives a house of representatives, although the high officials frequently retain a veto power. In individual establishments shop committees have been very successful but neither employees nor employers generally have much faith in them.

If the establishment in which industrial democracy is partially or wholly practiced can produce more efficiently than other establishments, the latter will be forced by competition to adopt the plan, but industry differs too widely from the state for argument by analogy to throw much light on the future of industrial democracy.

Courtesy, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.

WORKING MODEL OF A COAL MINE

Many coal mines have been scenes of intense class hatred and bitter industrial conflict. Martial law has sometimes been necessary to preserve order. What has caused so much hostility between mine owners and employees? What can be made the basis of a better relationship? Would you apply the same remedy to other fields of industry?

Social and political effects of class hatred. Lincoln in discussing slavery said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Students of history know that great social and economic divisions accompanied by distrust and hatred are always dangerous. Men and women who feel so unkindly toward one another that they are unable to coöperate in industry will fail to coöperate in solving our great social and political problems. Our mixed population with its many languages and varied streams of social heritage makes it imperative that we prevent additional divisions because of misunderstandings and injustices.

Questions on the Text

1. How did the Industrial Revolution change the relationship of employer and employee?
2. Discuss the most important points of conflict.
3. In what way does industrial conflict affect the public?
4. Differentiate labor organizations according to function. According to structure. Trace the historical development of organized labor in the United States.
5. Criticize the policies of employers' associations.
6. What is a trade agreement? Strike? General strike? Lockout? Primary boycott? Secondary boycott? Unfair list? Fair list? Black list? White list?
7. Define conciliation; mediation; voluntary arbitration; compulsory arbitration. Describe the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations.
8. Describe profit sharing.
9. Why is the ownership of stock by employees significant?
10. Discuss two obstacles to producers' coöperation.
11. Describe the Whitley Plan.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. *Resolved:* That a larger proportion of industrial employees were happier a century ago than at present.
2. Ask some employees of the largest industrial establishments in your districts what they think of their employer and the conditions of their employment.

3. Trace the historical development of one point of conflict.

4. *Resolved:* That the closed shop is wrong in principle.

5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of organized labor? Of employers' associations? Compare the American Federation of Labor and the National Association of Manufacturers.

6. *Resolved:* That it is the duty of every laborer to join a labor union if a union for his kind of labor exists.

7. Compare the effect of the methods of conflict on the parties to the dispute. On society. Has the injunction been used too freely in industrial disputes?

8. Defend or condemn profit sharing.

9. Compare producers' coöperation and consumers' coöperation. Is the Rochdale system an example of the former or latter?

10. Does the success of political democracy give us assurance that industrial democracy will succeed?

11. *Resolved:* That the happiness and well-being of employees depend more on industrial democracy than on political democracy.

12. Is there class hatred in your community? If so, how can it be reduced?

13. *Resolved:* That compulsory arbitration should be used widely in the United States.

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CHAPTER VIII

MONEY, CREDIT AND BANKING

THE PROBLEM: Money, credit and banking are essential to social and political, as well as economic, well-being. Our problem is to learn more about the nature of each of these, and find out how to use each most effectively.

The functions of money. Money has three important functions: it serves as a medium of exchange, is a standard of value, and is a standard for deferred payments. These functions are so closely interrelated that at least two of them are a part of every exchange involving money. When a person wishes to sell a commodity it is not usually possible to sell to the person who has the commodity he wishes to buy, therefore barter is not convenient; so the seller must accept in payment a commodity which he can in turn exchange for the commodity he wishes to buy. The commodity which is generally accepted in payment for all kinds of commodities is money, and by permitting exchange without barter it becomes the medium of exchange.

Without the service of money, wages would generally have to be paid in other commodities. Think of the inconvenience of receiving at the end of each week or month an assortment of various things the value of which would be uncertain! Money payment is satisfactory because we can turn money into the kind of good we like.

In barter no standard of value is necessary. If you have wheat and I have shoes we can compare the articles and if we can agree on the relative value of a bushel of wheat and a pair of shoes no standard of value is needed. You, however, want something besides shoes and I want something besides wheat, and if there were no standard of value we would have to value each article we sell in terms

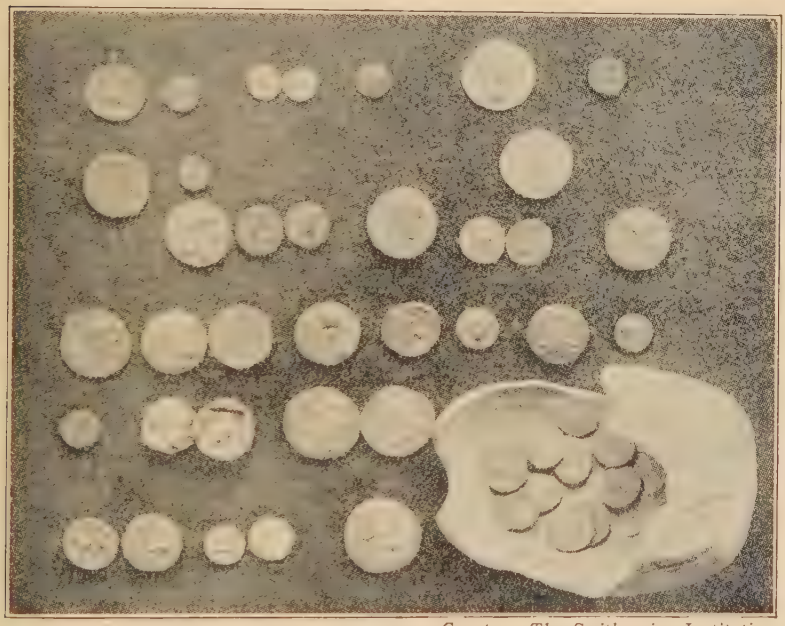
of the article for which we exchange it. This process would be so complicated that transactions would be greatly hindered. Where money is in use each seller values his own commodity and that of the commodities he wishes to buy in terms of money. Without a standard of value how inconvenient to buy shares in a corporation, or apportion dividends! What a task it would be to agree on the payment of interest, wages and rent!

The function of money as a standard for deferred payments is complicated. All goods change in value, and the person who receives payment in the future may receive the same goods he would have received when the commodity was sold without receiving the same value. If you trade a knife to a companion for a peck of apples in the winter when the price of apples is high, and he waits until summer when apples are cheaper to give the apples in payment, he has not given you as much value as you deserve.

The less the standard of deferred payments rises and falls in value the fairer will be the return. If during the period of a deferred payment the commodity that serves as a standard doubles or deteriorates one half in value, the payment when made is twice or one half as large as justice demands. Let us suppose apples were the standard of value in the community where you exchanged the knife. If the value of apples in summer when you received payment was only half what it was in winter when you sold the knife, you received only half as much value as you should have received.

Gold is better than most commodities as a standard of deferred payments because it generally rises and falls less than most of the others in value. Gold, however, does change in value—purchasing power—so that a hundred dollars may be worth more or less when it is returned than when it was borrowed. The people who borrowed money in 1913 and paid it back in 1920 returned the same number

of dollars—plus interest—that they borrowed, but they really returned less value, as a dollar would buy less in 1920 than in 1913. The increase in the amount of money in circulation is an important cause of a rise in prices. When Spain poured the gold and silver from her American colo-



Courtesy, The Smithsonian Institution

COINS OF BIBLE LANDS

Money changers did an important business in the commercial cities of the Near Orient.

nies into Europe in the sixteenth century there was a great rise in the general price level.

What qualities must a good possess to enable it to be suitable for money? The qualities which are most essential are value, stability of value, portability, cognizability, divisibility, and durability.

Kinds of money. Hundreds of commodities have been used as money. Shells, domestic animals, skins, hides,

tobacco, spices, salt, precious stones, iron, copper, gold, silver, and paper currency are some of the things that have served in this capacity. The increasing complexity of trade caused most of these articles to fall far short of a satisfactory money and the principal countries have long since used but two kinds of money: the metals and paper.

There are many varieties of metal and paper money, and eleven kinds are in general use in the United States at present: gold, silver, nickel, copper, gold certificates, silver certificates, Treasury notes, United States notes, national bank notes, Federal reserve notes, and Federal reserve bank notes. The gold is coined into the double eagle, eagle, half eagle, quarter eagle and dollar; the silver into the dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar and dime. Nickel and copper are united to form the five-cent piece and copper is used in the one-cent piece. Some alloy is used in all our coins to make them last longer.

The paper money is issued in various denominations. The gold certificates, silver certificates and Treasury notes represent gold and silver deposited in the United States Treasury and are used for convenience instead of the metal they represent. The other paper money is secured by the deposit of partial reserve of metal, or by bonds, or commercial paper.

In the monetary systems of the important commercial countries there is now a single standard—gold—to which all other forms of money are adjusted. The metal in all coins except gold is worth less as bullion than as money and the material in paper money is nearly valueless. The value of the material contained in a piece of money is its *intrinsic* value. All the forms of money except gold are accepted at the value stamped on them because the credit of the government is behind them. Except in times of great financial difficulties such as followed the Civil War any of these forms of money can be exchanged for gold.

For generations the leading countries had bimetallism and strove to maintain both gold and silver as standards of value, but this proved impossible as the market ratio of gold and silver changed so that the mint ratio no longer represented the real values of the two metals.

When this occurs the metal that is given a greater value by the mint ratio than its market value tends to drive the other metal out of circulation. This is an illustration of Gresham's Law which states that when two kinds of coin are in circulation that which is worth less as bullion than its face value as money will tend to drive out of circulation the coin that has not thus had its value increased.

Monetary history of the United States. The monetary history of the United States is a very valuable field for the student of money. In colonial times there was great shortage of money and many staple commodities were called into service. Spanish and other European coins were used, and Massachusetts minted the "pine tree shilling" and other coins from 1652 until 1686 when she was stopped by England.

In 1690 Massachusetts issued paper money to pay some of the soldiers in King William's War, and one colony after another followed her example and issued paper money, but in 1763 Parliament forbade any colony to issue it. During the Revolution vast quantities of bills of credit were issued by all the states, and several hundred millions of dollars of paper money were issued by the Continental Congress.

The Constitution gave Congress power to coin money, and the law of 1792 established the decimal system, made the dollar the unit of value, established bimetallism, making both gold and silver legal tender with fifteen times as much weight in a silver as in a gold dollar.

The market value of gold in a short time was about fifteen and a half times that of silver and gold disappeared

from circulation in accordance with Gresham's Law. By the laws of 1834 and 1837 the mint ratio was changed to 15.988 : 1. This overvalued gold about as much as the law of 1792 had overvalued silver, and silver disappeared from circulation.

During the Civil War, United States notes—commonly called "greenbacks"—were issued to help finance the war, and made legal tender. There was doubt about the government's redeeming these and both gold and silver disappeared from circulation. At one time a dollar in United States notes was worth about thirty-five cents in gold.

In 1873 the free coinage of silver dollars was suspended. The market value of silver fell because of new mines in the West and the stoppage of the free coinage of silver in several countries. Renewed agitation for the resumption of free coinage of silver led to two compromise measures. The Bland-Allison Act of 1878 required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase monthly not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 of silver and coin it into dollars, and the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver at market price and pay for it with Treasury notes.

The owners of silver mines, the agrarian interests, the debtor class and others who had supported the Populist candidates united with the Democrats in 1896 in the arduous but unsuccessful campaign for the election of William Jennings Bryan. In 1900 Congress passed the Gold Standard Act which declared the gold dollar the unit of value in our monetary system.

The increased production of gold in South Africa, Australia, and other countries has increased the world's supply very greatly and there is no serious agitation in the United States to return to bimetallism. The gold reserves of the United States rose from less than $700,000,000 in 1913 to more than $3,000,000,000 in 1922 and this was one impor-

tant cause of the great rise in prices during that period. Japan and Australia also increased their gold reserves during the World War but the reserves of the leading European countries were greatly reduced.

Most of the European countries are still feeling the ill effects of their overissue of paper money during the war, but fortunately we did not yield to the temptation to inflate our paper currency. If we had yielded we should doubtless be reaping the disastrous effects which almost invariably follow the issue of vast sums of paper money.

The functions of credit. Credit in its simplest form is the transfer of a good for a promise to pay in the future. In connection with many credit transactions far more than a mere promise is involved for written instruments or other securities are always required in connection with many kinds of credit.

More than half the small sales are probably made on a cash basis but credit is used in nearly all large transactions. Credit is so essential a part of modern business methods that it would be practically impossible to get along without it. Its most important functions follow.

It saves time. If cash had to be given at the time of each purchase, especially if purchases were made at a distance, much time would be spent in providing and counting money, and in making change.

It saves work. The transportation of money has to be made with great care, and the transportation of money great distances is very costly. Credit introduces an element of safety to persons as well as to money, for those who transport much money are apt to be robbed, and even now armored cars are being used by many banks and other organizations for the transfer of funds.

Credit economizes the precious metals. Without it the world's supply of gold and silver would be far too small to meet the cash payments that modern business would

require. It makes many transactions possible. Many buyers have their funds invested in securities that they are unwilling to sell, but can make purchases at the desired moment by use of credit. It permits great elasticity of currency. Many credit instruments are commonly used as money.

It permits the business man to adjust his periods of expenses and receipts. Many kinds of business have seasonal fluctuations in both expenses and receipts. It enables the producer to secure funds on the basis of partially finished products with which to complete their manufacture and put them on the market. It permits one to produce on the basis of anticipated funds. Many of our most profitable business organizations were forced to begin with equipment secured by means of it. It permits small sums to be used for production as the banks and other agencies gather the many small sums and lend them to producers.

What would a government do in war or in other periods of great financial need if it could not use credit?

Credit instruments. Extensive use is made of many credit instruments: *Verbal* or *book credit* consists of either a promise to pay accompanied by no evidence, or a charge account recorded on the books of the seller. It is used extensively in retail trade in rural districts and in cities. The merchant is careful to whom he extends such credit.

A *promissory note* specifies in writing the amount, including interest, to be paid and states the length of time of the deferred payment. This form of credit is used widely in borrowing from banks. If the financial standing of the one who borrows is good the note itself may be accepted as security. A second person may sign the note promising to pay the principal and interest if the first person does not do so. This is called "going on one's note." One should never go on another's note without careful consideration. Many lenders require the one who borrows on a promissory

note to deposit stocks, bonds or other property with the lender to guarantee payment.

A *bank check* directs a bank to pay a specified sum from the depositor's account to one or more designated persons, or to *bearer*. It must be endorsed by the person who is named in the check. A check by a person or business organization with a good reputation may be accepted locally without question. Checks with erasures and checks which have not been properly drawn should not be accepted. One should be careful to see that there are sufficient funds before giving a check. Banks do not like customers to *overdraw*. Many banks do not permit it, and it is very embarrassing as well as detrimental to one's financial standing to have checks returned because of insufficient funds.

Clearing houses have been organized in all important financial districts for convenience in handling checks. At the close of the day a representative of each bank in the district brings to the clearing house all checks paid by it which were drawn on other banks of the district, and receives from other banks the checks on it paid by those banks. If a bank has paid out more on checks drawn on other banks than other banks have paid out for checks drawn on it, the clearing house credits the bank with the difference. If the reverse is true, the clearing house enters a debit equal to the difference against the bank. In this way, much time and work are saved, for without a clearing house every bank would have to send checks directly to every other bank and make cash adjustments directly.

A *bank draft* is an order by one bank directing another to pay a specified sum. Every important bank has an account with a bank in New York and a bank in Chicago to facilitate the handling of drafts.

A *bill of exchange* is an order by a creditor directing the debtor to pay a specified sum to a designated person. Bills of exchange are used to some extent in domestic trans-

actions, but are most widely used in foreign trade. The bill of exchange, like the trade acceptance, is used principally in connection with the sale of goods.

The *trade acceptance*, which is being used more and more widely, is a bill of sale across which the buyer has written "accepted." It commonly specifies the date and place of payment.

From the standpoint of the organization that issues them, *bank notes, bullion certificates, post-office money orders, express money orders, letters of credit,* and *travelers' checks* are credit instruments.

Misuse of credit. The debtor's prison has gone, but many of the evils of the misuse of credit are still with us. People who are deficient in imagination or will power, or are too optimistic and enthusiastic, are apt to be led into extravagance because the use of credit furnishes such an easy way to buy. It is so much easier for the consumer to say, "Charge it, please," than to pay cash. This causes many people to live beyond their means. Purchasers should remember that merchants have to charge a higher price when credit is extended than would be necessary if cash payments were made. This is necessary to cover interest and inevitable losses due to the failure of some purchasers to meet their obligations. Credit for consumers has been used most frequently in rural districts, but is now increasing rapidly in even the largest cities where it is frequently known as the *partial payment plan.*

Producers as well as consumers are frequently led into making unwise purchases because of the ease of securing credit. Some of our worst financial panics were largely the result of unwise use of it. Speculators who buy on a margin are generally guilty of a great misuse of credit and often suffer serious losses.

Since credit is such a valuable asset, the person or organization that does not meet his financial obligations promptly

is apt to suffer. This is especially true in business. In small communities the public soon learns who do not pay their bills. By the use of Dun, Bradstreet, and other credit rating agencies one can easily learn the financial standing of business organizations in every part of the country. Governments, as well as other organizations and persons, who fail to meet their credit obligations often find in the long run that they have lost more than they have gained.

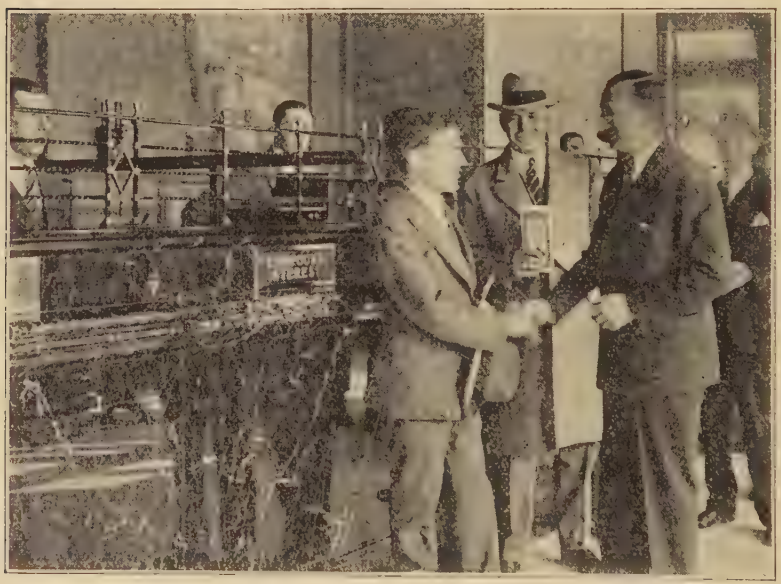
The functions of banks. There are commercial banks and savings banks, but many banks now perform both the commercial and savings functions.

The chief commercial functions are bound up with credit instruments and the money or other resources which form the basis for the credit instruments. It is too expensive for most of us to maintain a fire- and burglar-proof safe, so we entrust our cash to the banks for safe-keeping in the form of a deposit account. We can then draw the money out by check as we need it or pay our bills by check.

Someone has pointed out eight ways a checking account makes money go farther: It eliminates chances to lose money from pocket or purse; saves possible loss of money through making incorrect change; keeps one from paying a bill twice, as a cancelled check is an excellent receipt; saves time—another way of saving money; discourages unnecessary, ill-considered expenditures; offers a fine way to operate a budget intelligently; always shows just where one stands—giving control of expenses in relation to income; gives valuable prestige, helpful relationship with a bank, and the respect of people with whom one does business.

The banks can lend much of the money deposited by customers or can use it as a basis for selling their credit. The other resources of the banks also constitute a basis for the credit they sell to those who are in need of purchasing power.

Banks handle drafts, bills of exchange, trade acceptances and other forms of commercial paper. They are of great service in securing funds for the local business man and are very helpful in handling commercial paper involving out-of-town persons or organizations. They are a great



Courtesy, Journal Square National Bank

A NATIONAL BANK

The cage is tending to disappear in many banks.

aid in distributing funds where there is the greatest need of them.

The issuance of bank notes is an important function of the Federal banks but the state banks have not found it profitable to issue them since Congress in 1865 placed a tax of ten per cent on all bank notes issued by state banks. A few commercial banks pay a low rate of interest on time deposits. Many banks rent safe-deposit vaults for a small sum.

Savings banks have had a very rapid growth in recent years. They pay a low or moderate rate of interest on deposits. They lend this money at a higher rate of interest or invest it and are thus able to make money as well as serve their customers.

Our systems of banks. We have two systems of banks: the Federal banks chartered and supervised by the Federal government, and state banks chartered and supervised by the state governments. In addition to these there are a few incorporated organizations which perform some of the functions of a bank.

There were only two Federal banks before the Civil War, although each of these had branches in some of the principal cities. The first Bank of the United States existed from 1791 to 1811 and the second Bank of the United States from 1816 to 1836. One fifth of the capital stock of these banks was subscribed by the Government, the rest was privately owned. These banks—especially the second—were serviceable but each failed to secure a renewal of its charter because of the opposition of politicians and the state banks. President Jackson's war on the second bank was especially bitter.

The National Banking Act of 1863 was passed as a war measure but the system established by it was retained with few important changes until 1913, and is still the basis of our banking system. United States bonds were the assets back of all national bank notes and the Government guaranteed that these notes would be redeemed. During normal times the system worked very well but in times of financial difficulty the inelasticity of the bank notes and the inability to use reserves quickly caused many failures.

Under the Federal reserve system established in 1913 the United States is divided into twelve districts with one Federal reserve bank, with capital of at least $4,000,000, in each district. The Federal reserve bank in each district

is a bank for all the other banks of the district which are members of the Federal reserve system. These other banks are known as *member banks*. All national banks must belong and state banks may do so.

A Federal Reserve Board of eight members—the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and six members appointed for a term of ten years by the President with the consent of the Senate—has supervision and control of the system. Each Federal reserve bank has nine directors—three appointed by the Federal Reserve Board and six chosen by member banks.

Although the Federal reserve system has many features taken from the national banking system it is a great improvement over it in at least two respects:

It secures greater elasticity of currency. Before the establishment of the Federal reserve system it was very difficult for each bank to secure more money when business conditions created a need for it or to decrease its supply of money when business did not need it. The older system required that national bank notes could be issued on one security only—United States bonds. The Federal reserve system permits the member banks to deposit other securities with its regional bank and receive Federal reserve notes in return. It is therefore much easier for a bank at present to increase or decrease its supply of money.

The Federal reserve system centralizes our banking more fully than the older system and this is a great help. This secures greater coöperation between banks in all parts of the country than was possible before.

The Federal reserve system was put to severe tests during the World War and it stood the tests well. It probably had a good deal to do with averting a severe panic in 1921. There is reason to believe it will decrease financial panics in frequency and intensity.

The Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 and the Agricultural

Credits Act of 1923 have been of great service to farmers.

The state banks vary greatly from state to state but do not generally have the close supervision and strict control that is given the Federal banks. During the earlier part of our history many state banks deserved the term "wild cat" and the losses sustained because of them constitute one of the saddest features of our history. Great improvement, however, has taken place in state laws and in public opinion so that banks are usually among the most substantial business organizations of the community.

Questions on the Text

1. Explain and illustrate three important functions of money.
2. What kinds of money are now in general circulation in the United States? State and illustrate Gresham's Law.
3. What are the principal items in the monetary history of the United States?
4. State, explain and illustrate the functions of credit.
5. Write a credit instrument like each one mentioned in the text.
6. How can one avoid the misuse of credit?
7. Explain the functions of banks.
8. Trace the history of Federal banking.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Define: legal tender; fiat money; gratuitous coinage; free coinage; seigniorage; redeemable currency; multiple standard; time loan; call loan; index number; certified check; cashier's check.
2. What relation is there between the quantity of money in a country and prices? What factors besides the quantity of money influence the general level of prices?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each of the eleven kinds of money in general use in the United States? When was the gold standard adopted in the other leading countries?
4. Report on the presidential campaign of 1896. The United States mint.

5. When money is handed you in change, do you always count it?

6. *Resolved:* That the nations should mint a gold coin which would serve as an international unit of value.

7. What, if any, functions of credit would be of service to you? To your family? To your school? To your local government?

8. Suggest new credit instruments.

9. When is each of the following justified in using credit to secure consumption goods or production goods? An individual; a business organization; a government. Is credit misused by you? By your companions? By your family? By any form of government that has jurisdiction over you?

10. *Resolved:* That goods for consumption should not be bought on credit except in case of great emergency.

11. Do you and your family make sufficient use of banking facilities? Proper use? How many members of your class have money in a savings bank?

12. What are the arguments for and against strict regulation of banking?

13. What capital and surplus and undivided profits has each bank in your community? List the items which should enter into an estimate of a bank.

14. *Resolved:* That it is generally a bigger temptation to spend the money we have in our pockets or purses than to spend the money we have in banks.

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CHAPTER IX

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

THE PROBLEM: To secure, by studying the history and present position of the principal means of communication and transportation, information that will permit our making as rapid progress as possible in the use and development of these means.

Significance. Communication and transportation are essential to most of the values of modern life. Progress of nearly every kind is dependent on them. The physical, mental and moral well-being and growth of the individual are deeply affected by them. Solitary confinement destroys an individual as surely as disease, and the isolation is more destructive than the confinement. Communication and transportation are means of awakening interest and causing action. The spread of culture would be impossible without them. Suggestion, imitation, assimilation, socialization, public opinion, habits and the activities of all institutions are conditioned by them. Without them large political groups would be impossible, and they are especially important in a democracy.

They are fundamental in our economic life. Without them there could be little exchange, division of labor, machinery, efficient use of natural resources, or other wealth. As the significance of communication and transportation becomes greater with our increasingly complex civilization, all units of government are giving more attention to them.

Instruments of communication. The earliest communication was doubtless by gestures and signs. Later, language and writing came into use. Few of us appreciate the great intellectual and cultural value of discussion which is so essential to social progress. Discussion groups and

Chautauqua gatherings are becoming increasingly important.

When Benjamin Franklin in 1775 became postmaster general there were fewer than one hundred post offices in the colonies. Today, our Post Office Department with

Courtesy, The Post Office Department

POSTAGE MAP OF THE WORLD

To all places blocked out in black a two-cent stamp of the United States will carry an ounce letter and to all parts left white a five-cent stamp will carry the letter. The two-cent letter reigns supreme in practically the entire Western Hemisphere.

51,000 offices, 45,000 rural routes and 350,000 employees handles 25,000,000,000 pieces of mail annually and justly prides itself on being the biggest single business in the world. Many types of transportation are used to carry the mails—railroads, automobiles, steamboats, motor boats, airplanes, wagons, horses, motor cycles, bicycles, sleds, pneumatic tubes, belt conveyors, and human beings. The post office has expanded in function as well as in size. Some of the most important steps in this expansion have been the introduction of the following: postage stamp, 1847; free delivery of mail in cities, 1863; railway post office, 1864;

money-order system, 1864; post cards, 1872; rural free delivery, 1896; postal savings, 1911; parcel post, 1913; air mail service, 1918. We were influential in securing the establishment of the Universal Postal Union in 1875 which now includes nearly all civilized countries and has secured

DELIVERING A TELEGRAM

great reduction in rates to foreign countries. The cheaper postal rates make it much easier for the peoples of the world to become acquainted.

The electro-magnetic telegraph, the practical form of which was invented by Samuel F. B. Morse about 1835, nine years before an appropriation of Congress enabled the first line to be opened with "What hath God wrought!" flashed from Washington to Baltimore, has long been regarded as an indispensable help in many fields of activity. There are now nearly two million miles of single wire lines in operation, exclusive of 285,000 miles owned by the railroads, which carry 200,000,000 messages annually. The telegraph interests employ 70,000 workers, and have an annual income of more than $150,000,000. The telegraph is becoming an increasingly important instrument for mod-

ern business. Since the laying of the Atlantic Cable by Cyrus W. Field in 1866 it has been important in international relations. Pictures are now being transmitted successfully by telegraph.

Alexander Graham Bell patented his invention of the telephone in 1876 and at the time of his death in 1922 there were more than 37,000,000 miles of wire and 14,000,000 telephones in operation. This represented 130 telephones for every 1,000 of our population. There is a far larger number of telephones in the United States than in any other country in the world. The telephone is used very widely for social intercourse as well as for business. Television permits the speaker to see the person to whom he is talking.

Courtesy, Bell Telephone Laboratories

TELEVISION

This photograph shows one form of television apparatus as developed by the Bell Telephone Laboratories. It is intended for use by a single observer at a time. Another form possessing a large screen has been developed for display before a group of several hundred spectators. The man shown using the individual receiving cabinet is Mr. Walter Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Courtesy, Radio Corporation of America

LISTENING TO THE RADIO

Does the radio tend to keep young people at home?

Guglielmo Marconi invented the wireless telegraph at the close of the nineteenth century, and within a decade many high power stations were in operation. This has been especially helpful in ocean navigation and many ships have secured assistance by sending out the S. O. S. call for help. Wireless telegraphy is indispensable for operations of a modern fleet, especially in time of war. The rapid developments in air traffic have opened another important field of operation for wireless.

Our latest popular means of communication is the radio telephone or radio. In 1922 there were only 75 broadcasting stations in the United States but three years later there were more than 500. The number of stations increased so rapidly that the Federal Government in 1927 created the Federal Radio Commission. This commission and the Secretary of Commerce have joint control of interstate

radio transmission. The country has been divided into five radio zones, and Congress has provided for an equal distribution of licenses, power, frequencies and time of operation between zones. All fields of activity are now represented in the radio messages, and entertainment, business, politics, education, religion and many other kinds of activity are on the air night and day. Telephony service between New York and London was opened to the public in 1927. The possibilities wrapped up in the radio are practically limitless.

Waterways. The United States is very fortunate in the nature of its natural waterways. It has nearly three hundred rivers which offer thousands of miles of navigable stream, and the Great Lakes are more important than any other inland waterway in the world. The success of Fulton's *Clermont* in 1807 greatly increased the significance of waterways and the steamboat appeared on the Ohio River in 1811, and on the Great Lakes in 1819.

For a long time the Mississippi was the principal avenue of transportation to the seaboard for the people living west of the Appalachian Mountains. The great flood in the Mississippi Valley in 1927 directed the attention of the entire country to the need of a more adequate control of The Father of Waters, and a widespread demand arose immediately for the Federal Government to take measures to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Many locks have been provided and much money has been used to keep the streams suitable for navigation and they are still important for some kinds of traffic.

The Erie Canal extending 363 miles from Buffalo on Lake Erie to Albany on the Hudson River, with branches to Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, was completed in 1825 by the State of New York at a cost of $7,143,789 and its success was so great that the tolls in ten years equaled the cost of construction. Freight rates from Buffalo to

Albany fell from ninety dollars a ton to less than six dollars, and commodities poured out of the Mississippi Valley and Lake region in large quantities. This canal helped New York City to grow rapidly.

A few canals were built before 1825, but with the success of the Erie a canal craze swept over the country and within twenty years more than 4,000 miles of canals were built at a cost of $200,000,000. These were constructed largely by the Eastern states as each strove to secure as great a share of the Western trade as possible, but several important canals traversed Ohio, forming a connecting link between

Courtesy, The Panama Canal

U. S. ARMY TRANSPORT IN THE PANAMA CANAL

This canal serves us in peace and in war. It is 50.72 miles in length. The width of the channel is from 300 to 1,000 feet; its depth from 45 to 85 feet. About 17,000 ships of the usual size can pass through in a year. The operating expenses to date amount to about $100,000,000 and the revenues to about $175,000,000. The distance between New York and San Francisco is 13,135 nautical miles by the Strait of Magellan, but only 5,262 by the canal—a saving of three-fifths of the distance.

Lake Erie and the Ohio River, and some were in the South, especially in the vicinity of Charleston. A few of these canals were a financial success and more would have been but for the coming of the railroads.

In 1918 the New York Barge Canal which includes the old Erie and other canals was opened after an expenditure of one third as much as was spent on the Panama Canal, and there is now considerable activity looking to improvement of the canals along the Atlantic seaboard from Cape Cod to Florida, and in some of the states of the Middle West. There is some agitation for a canal from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard large enough to permit the largest ocean-going vessels to pass. Two of our most successful canals—the Panama, and the Sault Ste. Marie connecting Lake Superior and Lake Michigan—were built by the Federal Government. The latter is for commercial purposes only, but the former has great political and military significance as well. The Government has purchased the Cape Cod Canal.

Many students of transportation believe we shall soon see an important revival of inland water transportation.

Ocean transportation has made wonderful progress in equipment during the last hundred years. A century ago the steamboats were just beginning to make their appearance on the ocean and even as late as 1860 only eleven per cent of ocean-going tonnage used steam power. As late as 1855 we were using our fast-sailing clippers successfully against the best steamboats. The triple expansion engine, the screw propeller and other improvements have permitted the construction of the rapidly moving ocean liner which is more like a king's palace than like the ships used a few generations ago.

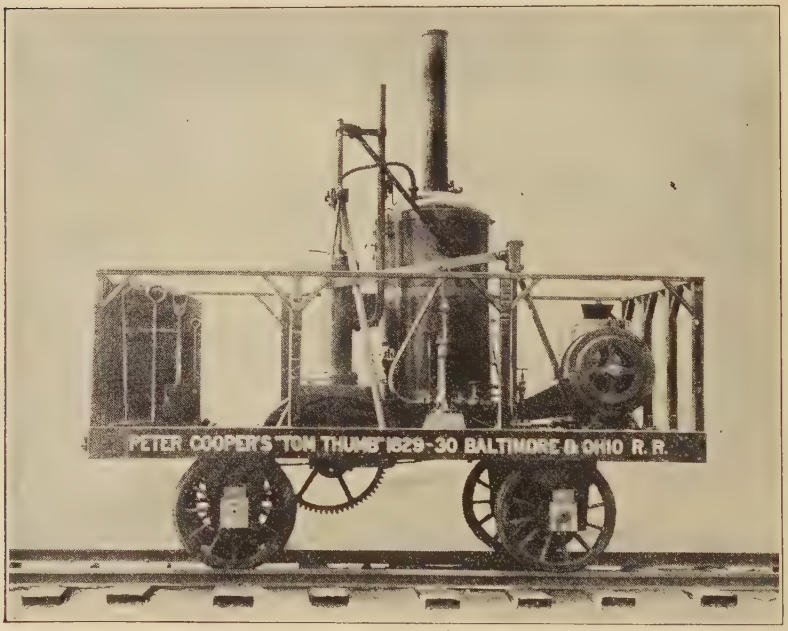
Although we can ride in luxury and send freight quickly we are generally forced to use someone else's ships, for our merchant marine has not grown like the merchant

marines of some other countries. We had a large merchant marine during the first decades of our national history except during the period of the Embargo Act, the Non-Intercourse Act and the War of 1812. As late as 1830, 94 per cent of our imports and 86½ per cent of our exports were carried in American vessels. By 1890 the percentage had fallen to 17 per cent and 9 per cent respectively, and at the outbreak of the World War was even lower, but since the war we have carried about one third of our imports and exports. On June 30, 1927, our merchant marine comprised 25,778 vessels of 16,887,501 gross tons. Of these, only 2,447 were seagoing vessels as large as 1,000 gross tons. Two thirds of these seagoing vessels were privately owned and one third were Government vessels under the control of the United States Shipping Board.

We gave a subsidy to the Collins and other lines before the Civil War in an attempt to build up a strong merchant marine, but England was far ahead of us industrially at the middle of the last century, and we had fine opportunities for our capital in internal development, so we fell farther and farther behind in tonnage. Even the immense tonnage we constructed during the World War is of little service in time of peace, and we have been forced to pay vast sums to the Emergency Fleet Corporation for operation of ships. Since a strong merchant marine is a great help in time of war, should we pay a large enough subsidy to insure a large merchant marine in private hands? Should the Government own and operate a large merchant marine?

Railroads. The railroad had its beginning about 1830. Several railroads for hauling freight with horses or stationary engines existed several years before, but in that year the Baltimore and Ohio used a locomotive, the Tom Thumb, on the first railroad for general transportation in this country. The first railroads were extremely short and were generally looked upon as supplementing and feeding

the canals rather than competing with them. As late as 1860 there was scarcely a railroad in the country five hundred miles long. The great railroad consolidations did not come until after the Civil War. The roadbeds at first



Courtesy, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

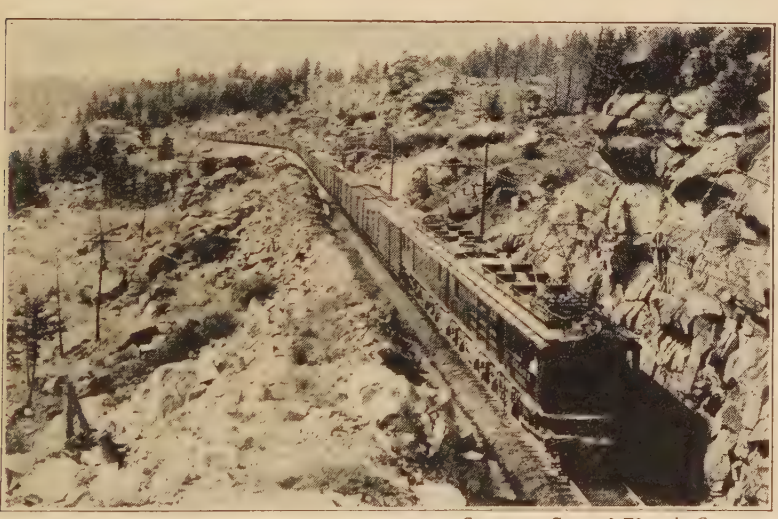
TOM THUMB

This locomotive was thirteen feet, three inches long, weighed one ton, developed seven and a half horsepower at a speed of ten miles per hour, and averaged about twelve miles per hour hauling one small car.

were largely of stone, wood, or strips of iron placed over stone or wooden rails and were unsatisfactory.

There was much opposition from turnpike and canal companies, and other interests that feared competition, but the rapid growth of the railroads is indicated by the following figures showing the approximate number of miles in operation: in 1830, 23 miles; in 1840, 3,000 miles; in 1860, 31,000 miles; in 1880, 94,000 miles; in 1900, 199,000 miles;

in 1928, 260,000 miles. About 1850, half a dozen roads established connection by rail with the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes region, and in 1869 the first transcontinental railroad was completed when the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines met near Ogden, Utah. The railroads stimulated the opening of the West and made possible our great agricultural and industrial development with their demand for world markets.



Courtesy, General Electric Company

ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE

Electrically hauled freight train descending a two per cent grade east of the Rockies. The train is held entirely by regenerative electric braking.

Great improvement is being made in equipment as steel cars, electric lighting systems, stronger rails, automatic block signals, air brakes, safety couplers, oil burning and electric locomotives, and fine terminals are being used more widely. Our railroads now have $23,000,000,000 invested in road and equipment and carry about 1,000,000,000 passengers and 1,300,000,000 tons of freight annually.

The relation of the railroads to the government has been

extremely close and vital. For nearly half a century it was thought the railroads needed help. The states gave privileges, including release from taxation, money and tens of millions of acres of land. The Federal Government, commencing about the middle of the century, gave some 200,000,000 acres of land and scores of millions of dollars. The counties, cities, villages and other local units gave bonds, bonuses and other forms of aid.

Many of the railroads were guilty of financial corruption, harmful political activity, abuse of monopoly privileges, and discrimination between persons, places and commodities so that about 1870 many states, led by the Grangers, tried to control them. This state regulation was not effective and in 1887 the Federal Government passed the Interstate Commerce Act.

This Act created the Interstate Commerce Commission, appointed by the President; forbade discrimination between persons, places and commodities under penalty of fines and imprisonment for the officers who made discriminations; forbade pooling; required rates to be "just and reasonable" and made public; and limited the practice of charging more for a short than a long haul. The courts were reluctant to support the decisions of the Commission and it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that effective control was secured. The Elkins Act of 1903, the Hepburn Act of 1906 and the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 mark the progress of this control. The Commission now has power to set maximum and minimum rates, require safety equipment and regulations, decide methods of keeping railroad accounts, and make many other regulations which protect the interests of the public and limit competition between roads.

In 1917 the Government took over the railroads as a war measure and operated them until 1920 when they were returned to the owners with $200,000,000 in cash. The gov-

ernmental control of the roads did not please the public and a big financial deficit was created, but it should be remembered that the roads were used during the first part of this period to win the war, not to make money. The employees of the railroads wanted government ownership, and the Plumb Plan to pay for them by the issuance of government bonds was advocated by the employees and the American Federation of Labor.

The Transportation Act of 1920 represents a radical change in our national policy. It points toward the union of the railroads into a small number of great systems, thus eliminating much of the competition the government had forced the roads to maintain, but permitting competition between the great systems. This is in line with the practice in England, France, and some other European countries. The Interstate Commerce Commission has recently declared that it would be unwise to force the roads to combine. It thinks combinations should be voluntary and with the consent of the Commission.

Street railways. The growing commercial and industrial cities found themselves greatly in need of better transportation and about 1860 a few cities introduced cars drawn by horses, steam locomotives, or cables. About 1885 the electric car was introduced and soon became the only type in general use although a few examples of the older kinds of motive power still exist. The larger cities found the surface cars inadequate to carry the great crowds that thronged them, and some of them, led by New York which introduced an elevated system in 1878 that used steam for a number of years, have introduced the elevated and subway systems. A few of the systems are municipally owned but most of them are operated under franchises. They have been the cause of much political activity and some political scandals.

Many interurban electric systems have been established

which offer cheap means of transportation for hundreds of miles in some sections of the country and are competing with the railroads, especially for passenger traffic. Many municipal and interurban lines have had great difficulty in the last decade or two in earning a reasonable return due to the automobile, rising wages and rising prices, and the fact that the public and government officials have been slow

REPAIRING A STREET RAILWAY

The mounting cost of repairs is one important cause of the financial difficulties of many street railways.

to grant an increase in the five-cent fare. The family automobile and the motor bus have already killed a few electric lines and even the largest cities are beginning to substitute motor for electric transportation on some streets.

Highways. President Coolidge in advising Congress said, "No expenditure of public money contributes so much to the national wealth as that for building good roads." Good roads are essential to business, and are a great aid to political, educational, religious, recreational and other community activities. Yet good roads are for the most part a

recent development. During the former half of the nineteenth century the roads in almost every section of the country were abominable. It is true that McAdam, the great Scotch roadbuilder, died nearly a hundred years ago, but macadamized roads were introduced slowly, and most of our early roads were of dirt, with a plank, charcoal, gravel or macadamized road here and there.

The popularity of the bicycle and the activity of the National Good Road Association in the latter part of the nineteenth century did something to secure an improvement of roads, but the coming of the automobile into general use has been the cause of the great progress in road construction during the twentieth century and the develop-

AN OLD TOLLHOUSE

This pike was built by a company which charged toll of each traveler, except those on foot. A pole—tollgate—extended across the road with a weight on the end opposite the house. When the traveler arrived, one end of the pole was raised, the traveler paid toll and passed on three or four miles to the next tollgate.

A mob who wanted free roads cut down the tollgate at this tollhouse one night. When the keeper replaced it, the mob cut it down again and warned him not to replace it. Public sentiment for free roads was so strong that the county took over the road and maintained it for several decades. It became a state road recently.

ment of the Lincoln, Dixie, Roosevelt and other fine highways with their smooth and oiled surfaces.

Who constructs our highways which now cost more than $1,000,000,000 a year? Many of the first roads were turnpikes constructed by corporations which charged toll of each traveler. These were generally of more service to the community than the corporation who built them as they were frequently failures financially.

The local governments were the chief public agents in building roads until little more than a decade ago, and they still bear the larger share of the burden. The states are now appropriating large sums for roads; most of them are levying a special gasoline tax for road construction and are supervising much of the work done by local units. Many local and state governments have voted large bond issues for road purposes.

The Federal Government made an appropriation for roads as early as 1796 but the Cumberland Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois, was the great early contribution of that branch of our government to the cause of good highways. In 1916 the Federal Government offered $75,000,000 on condition that the states furnish an equal amount and meet certain standards of road construction, and it is still offering $75,000,000 annually to the states. The proposed Federal Aid Highway System consists of 170,000 miles of concrete, asphalt, macadam and brick roads. The Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Agriculture directs the construction of Federal roads.

The significance of the highway as an agent of business and pleasure has been greatly increased by the coming of the automobile and the motorcycle. There are 23,000,000 motor vehicles in the United States—about one vehicle for every five persons. We have four times as many as the rest of the world combined. The trucks and busses are begin-

ning to compete seriously with even the railroads for both freight and passenger traffic where the distance is not great. Many railroads and interurban lines have discontinued some passenger trains and cars and are operating motor busses.

Automobiles, and especially the heaviest trucks, are very destructive to roadbeds, and heavy traffic is excluded from many highways. The state and Federal governments se-

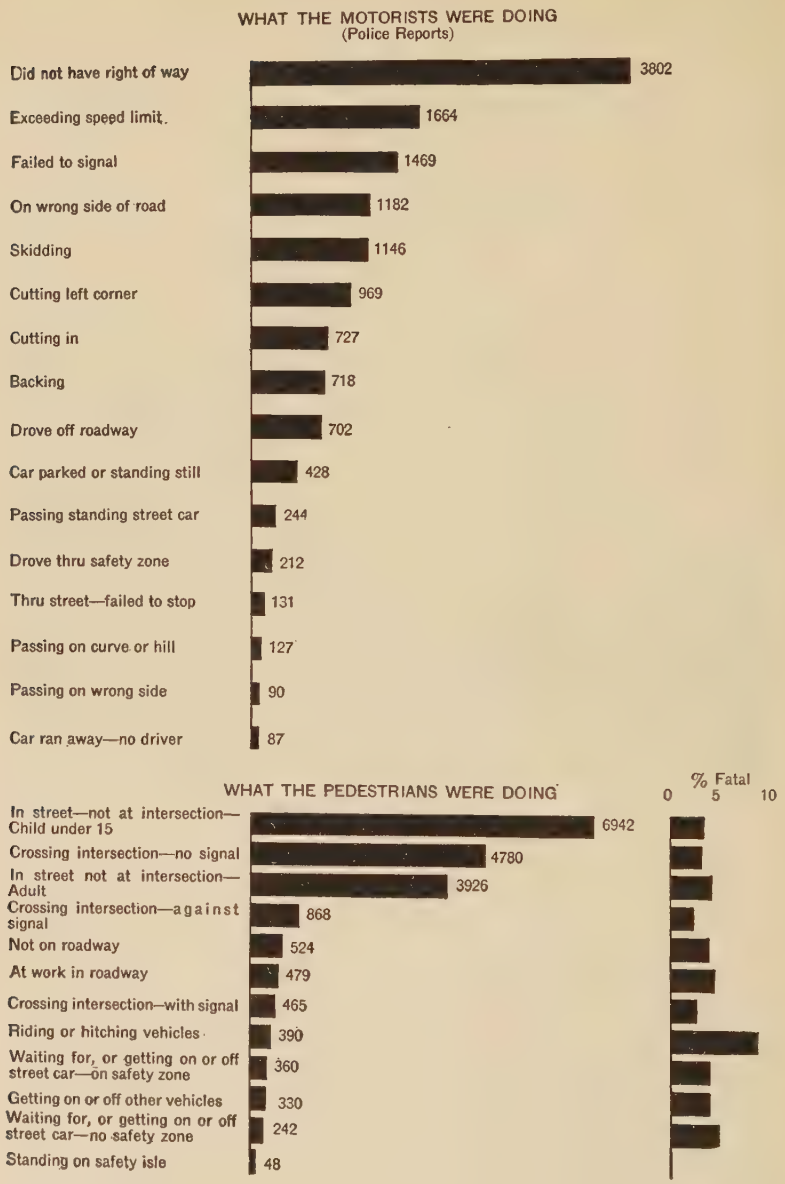
Courtesy, Chamber of Commerce of New Orleans

ST. CHARLES AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS

Not so picturesque, perhaps, as the old sections of this and other cities, but the service rendered by a broad avenue like this is great.

cure the tremendous sum of $1,000,000,000 annually in taxes made possible by motor car activities.

The motor vehicle has made our streets and highways zones of danger as more than 20,000 people are killed and 500,000 injured by them annually. The haste and carelessness of many motorists is astounding, and the ones who take foolish chances frequently hurt the careful drivers as well as themselves. With the great congestion of traffic some accidents are unavoidable but the great majority


WHAT THE MOTORISTS WERE DOING
(Police Reports)
Did not have right of way 3802
Exceeding speed limit. 1664
Failed to signal 1469
On wrong side of road 1182
Skidding 1146
Cutting left corner 969
Cutting in 727
Backing 718
Drove off roadway 702
Car parked or standing still 428
Passing standing street car 244
Drove thru safety zone 212
Thru street—failed to stop 131
Passing on curve or hill 127
Passing on wrong side 90
Car ran away—no driver 87
WHAT THE PEDESTRIANS WERE DOING
% Fatal
0 5 10
In street—not at intersection—Child under 15 6942
Crossing intersection—no signal 4780
In street not at intersection—Adult 3926
Crossing intersection—against signal 868
Not on roadway 524
At work in roadway 479
Crossing intersection—with signal 465
Riding or hitching vehicles 390
Waiting for, or getting on or off street car—on safety zone 360
Getting on or off other vehicles 330
Waiting for, or getting on or off street car—no safety zone 242
Standing on safety isle 48

Courtesy, National Safety Council

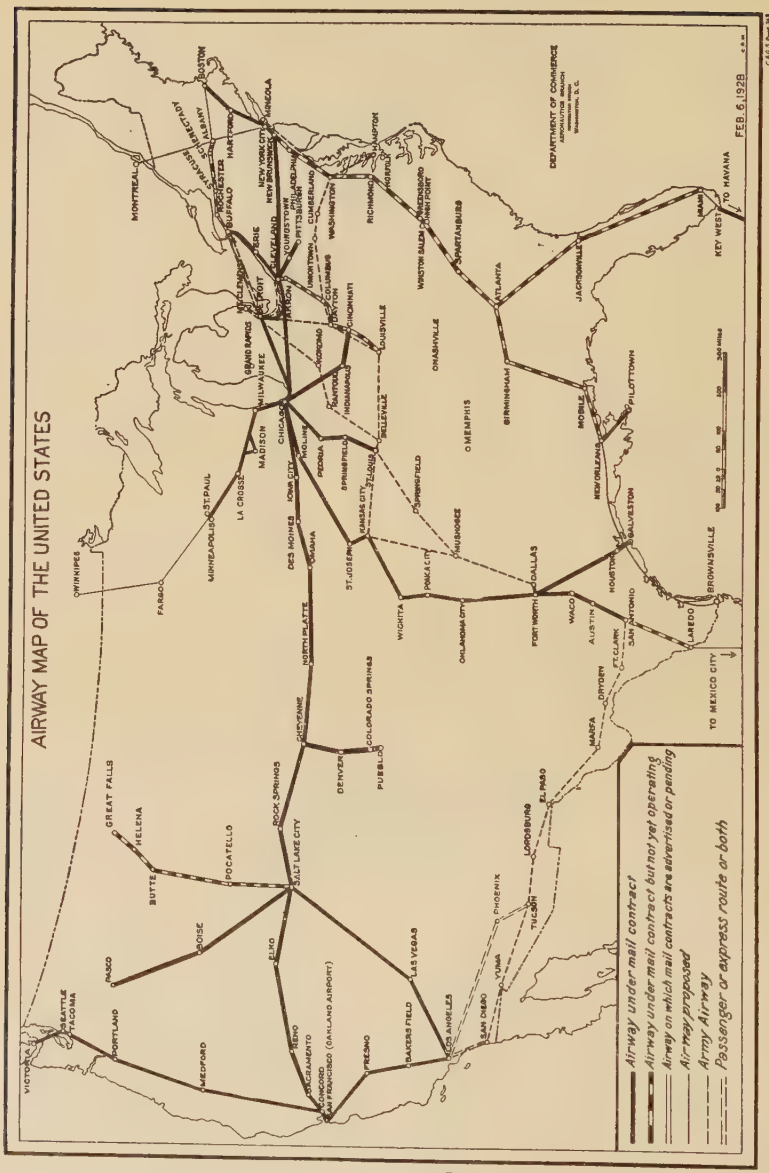
How Motor Vehicle Accidents Occur

could be prevented if reasonable care were shown by motorists and pedestrians. The safety councils and some public officials are carrying on a vigorous campaign and public opinion will doubtless be aroused eventually, but how many accidents will occur in the meantime!

Express. Before the establishment of the parcel post, the express was a more valuable part of our system of exchange than at present. It continues to do an important business. The first express was started by W. F. Harnden between Boston and New York in 1839 and the success of this was so great that other companies were soon formed and in a score of years many thousands of miles of line were in operation. As a result of the great waste of competition there were many early consolidations, and during the World War the largest companies—American, Adams, Southern, and Wells, Fargo & Company—consolidated to form the new American Express Company. This company now operates about 260,000 miles of track. Its new air express service extends from New York and Boston on the Atlantic to San Francisco and Los Angeles on the Pacific.

The establishment of the parcel post was a serious blow to the express companies and the express rates were lowered immediately. Motor busses operated by individuals or small companies, by carrying many commodities which have to be transported only short distances, hurt the large express companies as well as the railroads and interurban electric lines.

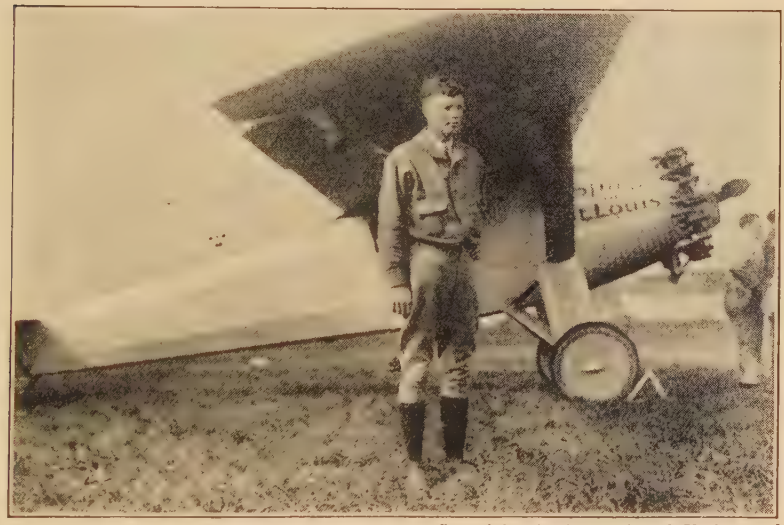
Airways. For a century and a half experimentation with aircraft netted little, but at the beginning of the twentieth century the development of the Zeppelin and other dirigibles, and especially the development of the airplane by the Wright Brothers and others were the beginnings of great progress. This progress has been furthered by the military requirements of the World War and by both military preparation and commercial needs since the War.



Courtesy, Department of Commerce

AIRWAY MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

This development has been marked by many interesting and daring feats as flights have been made to nearly every quarter of the globe. Even the North Pole was visited by Richard E. Byrd in an airplane and by Roald Amundsen in a dirigible in 1926. As early as 1919 Sir John Alcock made a non-stop flight across the Atlantic and a dirigible made a



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COLONEL CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND *The Spirit of St. Louis*

His flight across the Atlantic and his nine-thousand-mile good-will tour of Central and South America were greatly appreciated at home and abroad. He received the award of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation in 1928 for furthering the cause of international peace.

non-stop flight the same year, but in 1927 Charles A. Lindbergh thrilled the world by a non-stop flight from New York to Paris, 3,610 miles, and in a few weeks two others —Clarence D. Chamberlin and Richard E. Byrd—had piloted non-stop flights across the Atlantic. Several non-stop flights from our Pacific coast to the Hawaiian Islands suggest the possibility of using the airplane to cross the Pacific. These successes were soon followed by the loss of

so many lives in attempts to cross the oceans that public opinion in the United States and abroad caused a decrease in the number of such hazardous flights. Are landing places in the ocean to aid commercial aviation possible and advisable?

Airplanes can be built which will stay in continuous flight two or three days, rise many miles in the air and fly far faster than the swiftest bird, but can they be used for commerce profitably? Europe has been ahead of us in passenger transportation, but we are now making rapid progress in commercial aviation. In 1918 our first regular air mail service was opened, two years later we established a transcontinental air mail service between New York and San Francisco, and in 1926 the government commenced to make contracts for the carrying of domestic mails, and appointed an assistant secretary of commerce for administrative work in connection with civil aviation.

The transportation of light commodities which must be handled quickly is increasing, much progress is being made in the construction of planes and airports, flying is becoming much safer, and many successful trips are made even at night or when the weather is unfavorable. The aviators are asking for airports more centrally located, and the public is awakening to this need as the people of the nineteenth century finally realized the need of adequate terminal facilities for railroads and steamboats. Commercial planes engaged in interstate commerce are required to get a Federal license. In addition to being an instrument of war and a factor in the carrying trade, the airplane has been serviceable in photography, advertising, police and fire patrol, sowing seed, and in spraying the boll weevil, gypsy moth and other insect pests. The aircraft tends to create world-wide sympathy. The loss of the *Italia* and the trans-Pacific flight of the *Southern Cross,* for instance, aroused interest around the world.

Questions on the Text

1. Indicate the importance of communication and transportation.

2. Compare five means of communication.

3. Indicate the significance of our natural waterways and three canals.

4. Trace the history of railroad development in the United States and show the relation of the railroads to the government.

5. Who have constructed our highways? What relation have highways to automobiles? To safety?

6. What services have airplanes rendered?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Examine critically the substance and method of some communications you give. Compare these with some you receive.

2. Trace the history of one instrument of communication and suggest means of increasing its usefulness.

3. Why has the radio revived the issue of state rights?

4. What, if anything, should be done to improve the natural waterways near your home? Report on Robert Fulton, the development of the technique of ocean transportation, our merchant marine, the rotor ship, or the Panama Canal.

5. *Resolved:* That a canal large enough for ocean-going steamships should be built from Lake Ontario to the Atlantic seaboard.

6. Compare a modern railroad with one of the first railroads. What has each important law since 1887 contributed to our program of regulation? Report on Vanderbilt, Harriman, Hill, Van Sweringen brothers, land grants to railroads, or financial position of railroads at present.

7. Compare the strong and weak points of the electric car with the strong and weak points of steam transportation and the motor car.

8. Explain highway maps of your local community, state and the United States to your class and family. How are the roads of your community financed? Controlled? Have we too many passenger automobiles? Prepare a program for securing greater safety on the highways.

9. Describe some early experiments with aircraft. Show important developments since 1900. Indicate the most serious problems confronting aviation and suggest possible solutions.

10. What must be taken into consideration in preparing a system of freight rates?

11. Show the part played by one means of transportation in American history.

12. *Resolved:* That we should have national ownership and operation of railroads.

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CHAPTER X

COMMERCE

THE PROBLEM: To learn why and how commerce is carried on, and to form an intelligent opinion as to the part the government has played and should play in domestic and foreign commerce.

Significance. Commerce increases wealth. It does this by creating place utility. This is true of both domestic and foreign commerce.

Commerce is profitable because the cost of producing commodities varies in different places. This is the economic principle on which all commerce is built. Pennsylvania can produce one thing—steel beams—more cheaply than California. California can produce another thing—oranges—more cheaply than Pennsylvania. The United States can produce one thing—automobiles—more cheaply than Brazil. Brazil can produce another thing—coffee—more cheaply than the United States. The difference in cost of production is greater than the cost of transporting the commodities plus other costs due to selling in a distant market.

Many factors enter into the varying costs of production which make commerce profitable. Very important factors are climate, natural resources, and topography; inborn qualities, training and density of population; amount and kind of material capital and knowledge; tradition and reputation. Why do Louisiana and Alaska exchange sugar and sealskins? Why does England ship textiles to Denmark in return for eggs?

Exchange of products makes possible a more varied consumption and enables the peoples of the world to have a higher plane of living. Better diet, clothing and shelter

produce a more vigorous people who in turn are able to produce more rapidly.

Commerce stimulates progress because of competition. If France is producing iron pipes more cheaply than the United States and underselling our manufacturers in the markets of the world, this stimulates us to discover better means of producing such pipes. If we perfect a better

BRIDGING A NATURAL WATERWAY

Two inland lanes of commerce cross at this point. The bridge is being built far enough above the water to permit boats to pass up and down the river.

method and undersell France, she must find a method equally good or retire from the market. Thus, along many lines, commerce is a great spur to progress. Would Japan have progressed so rapidly but for competition with countries that were farther advanced economically?

Commerce does much to create a better understanding between nations and between different parts of the same nation. People get acquainted through business contacts. The merchants of New Orleans learn that the merchants of Seattle are very much like themselves. The business

man of the United States finds the business man of Chile, Germany or India trying to solve the same problems he is trying to solve. Commercial nations know they must be on friendly terms with their customers, so the wise merchants show a friendliness to the people of the countries with whom they trade. A nation always thinks twice before it makes war on a country with which it has a large trade—the future hostility as well as the war itself may be fatal to trade.

On the other hand, commercial rivalry is probably the greatest menace to world peace at the present time. Two countries will be striving to win the friendship of China at the very moment that they are thinking of going to war with each other over the Chinese trade. Commerce is the chief cause of big navies. It was largely to protect our commerce that we entered the World War.

Commerce has great social and political influences. Traders see the social customs and political systems of foreign lands. New ideas on all subjects flow through the channels of trade. Differences tend to be broken down as the nations imitate one another. Why are the Chinese adopting Western dress? Why did they set up a republic? Is the traveler, the missionary, the educator or the merchant the greatest social and political force in foreign lands? Why do we strive to outdo one another in using the latest styles from Paris?

Development. The development of commerce is one of the most interesting parts of history. The caravan routes between Europe and Asia, the boats of the Nile and the Euphrates, and the ships of the Mediterranean have been centers of great interest from remote times. Commerce was one great cause of the Renaissance. Bartholomeu Dias, Columbus, and other great explorers were looking for more profitable trade routes when they made their great discoveries. For centuries the leading nations have

been spending their blood as well as their treasure in finding, developing, and defending new markets.

Our commerce—domestic and foreign—has been very important since colonial times. At first our domestic commerce was largely coastal, with the rivers and Indian trails leading to the interior. The different types of economic development in various sections of the country stimulated domestic commerce. We received a large proportion of our manufactured goods from England or other European countries and paid for them with agricultural products, fish and ships.

Our great industrial development after the Civil War enabled us to export more and more manufactured commodities. A larger and larger proportion of our exports continues to be manufactured goods and this is apt to continue indefinitely.

We are searching diligently for world markets. Our Asiatic trade became more important with the opening of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, and has continued to grow rapidly. The Philippines have helped our Asiatic trade, and we have striven for an open door policy in China. We are striving harder and more successfully than formerly to increase our trade with Latin America. We are trying to find out what the Latin American merchants want and please them, instead of trying to make them accept what our people like. Our exports amount to nearly five billion dollars a year and our imports to four billion. We are the world's greatest creditor.

Our domestic commerce has had a very rapid growth, and our means of transportation are sometimes scarcely able to do the tasks required of them. Refrigerator cars and fast service have greatly increased the possibility of transporting perishable commodities. The wide extent of territory and diversity of climate and natural resources insure a permanent large domestic commerce.

Services of the government. The Constitution gives Congress the power "To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." The Federal government has made extensive use of this power. Its influence on transportation has been noted. It controls interstate telegraph, telephone and radio

Courtesy, Chamber of Commerce, Jersey City, New Jersey

VEHICULAR TUNNEL BENEATH THE HUDSON

Two of these tubes—one for east bound traffic and one for west bound traffic—extend 9,250 feet from New York City to Jersey City. The roadway width in each tube is twenty feet. It is estimated that forty-six thousand vehicles can pass through the tunnel each day. They cost New Jersey and New York forty-eight million dollars. This cost is expected to be met by toll collections.

lines as well as the means of transportation. The Interstate Commerce Commission is the agency through which it exercises the greater part of this control.

The Federal government's control of money, credit and banking vitally affects commerce, although the control of credit and banking is shared with the state governments. The commercial law of both Federal and state governments affects commerce.

The Federal government protects our commerce on the high seas and demands that foreign countries respect the lives and property of our citizens in foreign lands. The Webb-Pomerene Act of 1918 removed associations engaged in export trade from many of the restrictions of our antitrust laws.

The Department of Commerce is actively engaged in helping commerce at home and abroad. It establishes, maintains and regulates civil airways, helps standardize weights, measures and equipment, administers the lighthouse service, directs the coast and geodetic survey, helps enforce navigation laws, maintains the steamboat inspection service, has charge of fisheries, and keeps agents abroad to study foreign markets and commercial regulations. It conducts surveys and publishes yearbooks and reports to aid commercial organizations.

The Hoch Law of 1927 made the foreign commerce service of this department our trade-promotive agency abroad with definite salaries, functions and legal authority. For a score of years the department had maintained agents abroad, but this law has improved the service. It does much of the work formerly done by consular agents.

Each state has control of commerce which does not extend beyond its borders unless this affects interstate commerce enough to be subject to Federal regulations.

Foreign exchange. Paying for commodities is a more difficult problem in foreign than in domestic commerce. Gold is the only money of any country that is generally accepted in other countries. The gold dollar of the United States, the gold pound sterling of England, the gold franc of France, the gold mark of Germany, and the gold coins of other nations are accepted everywhere because each is worth as money no more than the gold that it contains is worth. Each is worth essentially the same as a piece of gold its own weight which has not been coined.

It is possible for a person who sells goods in a foreign country to have gold sent in payment, but this is very expensive, and very little gold is shipped. Most sellers get their pay by the use of foreign exchange. Orders for payment of money in a foreign country are known as foreign exchange.

People in the United States are constantly selling goods to people in England. English people are constantly sell-

TRANSPORTING BANANAS IN PANAMA

ing goods to people in this country. Instead of gold being shipped in both directions, each seller makes out a bill or draft ordering the buyer, or his bank, to pay the amount due. These bills or drafts are usually spoken of as bills of exchange, draft bills or commercial bills.

Let us suppose you owe a London merchant a thousand dollars. If you can find some one who has sold a thousand

dollars' worth of goods in England and has drawn a bill for the money, he would rather sell you his right to a thousand dollars in London than to have to collect it in London. On the other hand, you would rather pay him a thousand dollars than to ship a thousand dollars in gold across the Atlantic. So you buy his right to the thousand dollars. If one country has bought more goods than it has sold and there are not enough drafts on the other country to go round, competition will force up the price a little, as each debtor must get a draft or ship gold. A thousand dollar draft will then sell for a little more than a thousand dollars.

This is the principle which underlies foreign exchange. The private credits and debts of each country are balanced. If one country bought more than the other, and other countries did not have to be considered, gold would have to be sent to pay the difference between the amount bought and the amount sold. This is known as "the balance of trade." If there were only two countries and one bought a million dollars' worth more than the other, then a million dollars in gold would have to be shipped.

Foreign exchange is more complicated than this illustration would suggest as there are many countries exchanging products. Then, too, foreign investments, travelers' expenses and other international payments enter into foreign exchange. All forms of private debts of one country have to be balanced against those of other countries.

The tariff. A tariff is a toll on goods entering or leaving a country. The tolls are known as customs or duties. The Constitution forbids Congress to levy duties on exports, so our only tariffs have been on imports.

A tariff may be for revenue only, for protection only, or for both.

A *tariff for revenue* is much simpler than one for protection. A tariff for revenue is apt to be laid on something not

produced to a great extent in the homeland, so that there are few producers at home to benefit by it. A tariff on coffee or rubber in this country would not have protective features. England, the chief country to use a tariff for revenue only, had import duties on coffee, tea, cocoa, chicory, beer, wine, spirits, tobacco, sugar and dried fruit at the beginning of the World War. To rob these duties of any protective features, all of the same articles produced within the kingdom had to pay an internal revenue tax equal to the import duty.

A *protective tariff* is designed to limit or prohibit the bringing in of goods so that there will be a better market for the goods made by domestic producers. Many factors affecting the cost of production, and the benefits of various industries should be considered in levying a protective tariff. France, Germany, Italy and most other European countries have had highly protective systems.

Duties may be ad valorem, specific or a combination of the two. An *ad valorem* duty is one based on value. A *specific* duty is one based on quantity. If rayon cloth paid a duty of twenty cents on each dollar's worth, the duty would be ad valorem. If it paid ten cents a yard, the duty would be specific. If it paid both twenty cents on each dollar's worth, and ten cents a yard, the duty would be a combination of the two.

The tariff has influenced our foreign trade vitally. Although we laid a tariff in 1789, our first important protective tariff was made in 1816. From 1816 until 1832 the general trend in tariff rates was upward, but from 1833 to the Civil War it was downward, except during the administration of the Whig President, Harrison. About 1820 the tariff became a sectional and political issue, and South Carolina in 1832 passed her Ordinance of Nullification.

Since the beginning of the Civil War our tariff duties have been increased greatly under the leadership of the

Republican Party and we have had such high tariffs as the Dingley and Payne-Aldrich. The Underwood Tariff, passed in 1913 at the beginning of President Wilson's administration, lowered duties decidedly, but the Fordney-McCumber Tariff which has been in force since 1922 is one of the highest in our history.

Few of our tariffs have been laid scientifically. In the first place, knowledge of sound principles for tariff making has been limited. Then, the tariffs have frequently been the result of a fight between manufacturers who wanted as high a tariff as possible on certain goods and people who wanted either free trade or a very low tariff. Much money and various kinds of political pressure have been used to influence members of Congress and the President. Politics rather than economic principles have frequently had the right of way. Sectionalism and class conflict have also contributed to an unscientific attitude toward the tariff.

The frequent change of rates has been bad. Industry scarcely gets adjusted to a new tariff before a change of rates makes a new adjustment necessary.

During the twentieth century we have been developing somewhat more scientific principles in tariff making. Our recent Tariff Commissions have been gathering information concerning the expenses of production. This information should enable us to know the effect of proposed and actual duties more accurately.

The tariff has been made flexible by giving the President power to raise and lower duties on a commodity fifty per cent when the investigations of the Tariff Commission indicate there is a difference in expense of producing this commodity in this country and abroad. The President has been given authority to arrange preferential tariffs by which we allow a country reduced duties on some commodities in return for lower duties on some of our exports to that country.

Shall we keep our protective tariff? The advocates of such a tariff assert:

It tends to give an all-round economic development which is very desirable. This is especially valuable in time of war when foreign commerce may be destroyed. Those who are strong nationalists and wish to be independent of other nations are apt to stress this argument.

It gives a home market for products. If we build great industrial cities like Detroit and Newark, the farmers of Illinois and Kansas have a market for their products without the expense of shipping them great distances to other countries. From the days of Henry Clay to the present, this argument has had great weight with the farmers of the Middle West and West.

It keeps wages up, protects our plane of living, and reduces unemployment. The politician has made much of this in his "full dinner-pail" speeches to labor.

It protects infant industries temporarily until they get strong enough to withstand competition. Which of our industries are now "infants"? The Fordney-McCumber tariff attempts to protect a few industries which were developed during the World War, such as dyestuffs, laboratory apparatus and glass.

It is necessary to vested interests. Manufacturers have invested capital and built up an organization for making a certain article, and the removal of the tariff may seriously damage those engaged in that industry. It prevents dumping by foreign countries of surplus products. This appealed strongly to Congress at the close of the War of 1812 and the World War.

It creates a favorable balance of trade. That is, it causes us to sell more goods to foreign nations than we buy from them. Because it keeps out much of the ordinary goods which would come into the country in exchange for exports, gold is sent here to pay for the exports. This argu-

ment is based on the old theory of the mercantilists that the country with the largest supply of the precious metals is the most prosperous. Would a pound of gold really do us more good than the rubber that gold would buy abroad?

The opponents of a protective tariff declare:

It prevents each country from producing the commodities it is best fitted to produce, thus violating the most fundamental principle of commerce. Texas could produce steel and Pennsylvania could produce steers but what an uneconomical task it would be for each! The fact that a tariff is necessary to the prosperity of an industry proves that the industry is not self supporting.

It raises prices. A tariff enables the domestic manufacturer to raise the price by the amount of the tariff. Thus it helps the producer at the expense of the consumer. The government receives the duty on the things brought into the country only, the manufacturer gets the benefit of the higher price on goods produced at home. If the tariff is too high, the government gets nothing as no goods will enter.

It fosters monopoly, privilege, and begets class conflict. It makes millionaires of many manufacturers at the expense of consumers.

It lowers wages because the workmen who tend to get what they produce are engaged in less productive industries than could exist if there were no tariff. The workers are creating less wealth than if they were in an industry that is productive enough to hold its own against the world.

It hurts the export trade. Because of our tariff wall, the foreign merchants cannot pay for our exports with the goods they would send us. It also causes other nations to make tariffs to keep out our goods.

It creates much international friction. Argentina's representative at the last Pan American Congress complained bitterly of tariff restrictions.

It has caused much political corruption. It will continue to do so as the tariff cannot be taken out of politics. Some kinds of business will always benefit by protection. Some consumers and some kinds of business will always want free trade. Even those who want protection differ as to the articles on which duties should be levied, and the amount of the duties. Since Congress makes the tariff regulations, the tariff will always be a political question.

It is very expensive to administer, and is a great annoyance on account of delays due to examination of goods.

What of the future? The writer believes that the United States is going to move farther and farther toward free trade. As our foreign trade expands and our position in international finance becomes stronger and stronger, there will probably be a lowering of the tariff to lessen friction as we endeavor to play a very large part in the trade and finance of the nations.

Questions on the Text

1. Why is commerce important?
2. Trace the development of our commerce.
3. How does the government help commerce?
4. Show why and how bills of exchange or other forms of foreign exchange are generally used instead of gold in foreign trade.
5. What are the arguments for a protective tariff? Against such a tariff? Compare the two lists. Which appeals to you more strongly?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What are the most important items of domestic and foreign commerce shipped from your community? To your community? Who benefit most by this commerce? What goods are most important in our foreign trade?
2. Report on our commerce: in colonial times; 1783 to 1811; 1875 to 1898; since the World War.

3. Report on the activity of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce.

4. Explain and illustrate one of the following: forms of foreign exchange; par of exchange; rate of exchange; dollar exchange; sterling exchange; the gold points.

5. What important results—good and bad—have been produced by our tariff laws? Define free list and tell what important items are on it at present. How do you account for the fact that most of our leading teachers of economics have been less favorable than our legislators to a protective tariff?

6. Discuss each of the following in relation to foreign trade: credit; nationalism; differences of language; differences of tradition and custom; advertising. What relation has the Monroe Doctrine to the foreign trade of Latin America?

7. *Resolved:* That we should levy a tariff for revenue only.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CONSUMPTION OF WEALTH

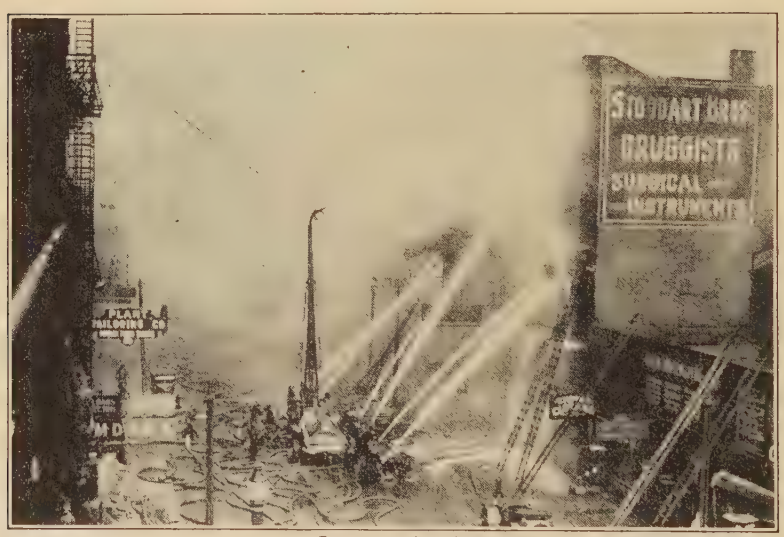
THE PROBLEM: All of us consume—but not with equal wisdom. One person will secure more real benefit from spending ten cents than another will get from spending a dollar. Even the purchases of the same person vary widely in effectiveness. The dollar you spend today may buy more real service than several dollars spent at another time. To learn the principles that should guide in the consumption of wealth, and to use them, is exceedingly helpful to the individual and to society.

Economic wants. Economic wants are extremely numerous and greatly varied. They have always played a big part in the life of man, and the number of them is increasing rapidly. With every social change or successful invention new desires are born. How many people fifty years ago wanted the equipment used in baseball or would have paid to see a professional game? Who wanted an automobile or radio, or was unhappy because of inability to get it, before it was invented?

The economic wants are a great cause of economic activity. Without wants there could be no such thing as utility, and without utility there could be no value. Many economists go so far as to say that consumption is the end of economic activity; that all production is its servant. Professor T. N. Carver of Harvard University says there are three kinds of self-renewing desires which play an important part in economic life: desire for action, desire for esteem and desire for material goods.

Whence come the economic wants? Many of them spring from the nature of animal existence. Like the other animals, man must have food and shelter. Many of them have their origin in instinctive reactions. Perhaps it would

not be too much to say that the greater part of them are socially determined. We frequently want the things others want even though we do not see how the things will be of any benefit; and we are apt to do what the other members of our group are doing even though the activity is neither agreeable nor profitable. We generally try to be that which our group admires. Many economic wants are in-



Courtesy, American-LaFrance Fire Engine Company

FIGHTING A FIRE

An enormous preventable loss is due to fire.

volved in these group contacts. Suggestion, imitation, sympathy, custom, tradition, rivalry and other social forces enter into the determination of them.

The need of more helpful economic wants and the possibility of securing them are very great. The increasing attention given by economists, social workers and political leaders to this need and possibility is an evidence of the recognition of their importance. Our wants frequently lead us to indulge, with little regard for consequences, in

forms of consumption that are harmful to us as well as destructive of utilities. The helpful consumption would generally bring as much immediate satisfaction as the harmful, and a great deal more satisfaction in the long run. It is nearly or quite as easy to learn to relish wholesome as unwholesome food, to learn to appreciate clothing that protects the health as clothing that is of little service, to learn to enjoy the socially helpful occupation as the destructive one. Frequently we are consumers when it would be just as pleasant—or even more pleasant—to be engaged in productive activity.

The chief principle which economists have worked out in discussing consumption is the *law of diminishing utility*. This law states that successive units of a good give less and less utility to the consumer. The first apple has much utility, the second somewhat less, and so on until we are entirely satisfied, then the eating of additional apples becomes increasingly distasteful. Two or three automobiles would not have for most of us two or three times as much utility as one.

We are not sure this law is universal, but it is certain that economic wants can generally be satisfied. Wants vary greatly in the rate at which they become satisfied, and in intensity.

Does an increase of wants mean an increase of happiness? Do you think we are happier than uncivilized people? Is it ever wise to create—or to permit to be created—wants which one is almost sure cannot be gratified?

The standard of living and the plane of living. One must keep clearly in mind that the standard of living means the idea a person has of what his condition as a consumer should be when his feeling in the matter is so strong that he is willing to sacrifice and strive very hard to secure that condition, and that the plane—or scale—of living means the actual conditions under which a person lives.

The existence and intensity of one's wants depend very largely on one's standard of living. Our desire to maintain the economic position to which we think we have a right is generally so strong that we sacrifice most other things to maintain it. Millions of people toil year after year under disagreeable conditions rather than sink to a lower plane. Millions of men and women who would like to marry put off marriage indefinitely, and even permanently, rather than accept a lower plane. The standard of living has doubtless been the greatest factor in causing a decrease in the size of families of the great middle class. Many workmen go hungry for a while rather than accept wages which would mean a permanent lowering of their plane of living.

This determination to hold on to a respectable standard is as beneficial socially as it is surprising. If the standard of living of the poorest economic classes could be raised and made as permanent as such a standard is for other classes, there would be a decided improvement in the plane of living of the lowest class. This would involve much suffering during the period of adjustment, but would be of great benefit to the class which needs improvement most.

What is the source of one's standard of living? There are many sources, but the number and importance of various sources differ with individuals. The standard of the family into which one is born is probably the most universal and powerful source. We feel that we must carry on the family tradition, and are generally unhappy if we realize that we must remain permanently on a much lower plane than our parents provided for us in childhood. On the other hand, a very large proportion of people are well satisfied if they do economically as well as their parents, and make very little effort to secure a higher plane.

Group standards play a big part in determining individual standards. We sometimes think in terms of national

groups, and speak of an American standard, a Russian standard, a Chinese standard, and a Mexican standard. We speak of racial standards but such a conception is even more indefinite than national standards.

Occupational group standards are especially important. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, skilled laborers, unskilled laborers and other groups generally have in mind an economic plane to which they feel entitled and for which they feel it the duty of each member of the occupation to strive. Public opinion "expects" people of a given occupation to maintain a certain minimum. The passing of an individual from one occupation to another frequently leads to a change of standard.

The group with whom one habitually associates, the neighborhood in which one lives, temporary success or failure and the habits that result from the change, the instruction and habits one gets in school, the recognition of the advantages of a higher plane of living and the disadvantages of a lower one influence many people.

How can we secure a more helpful standard for those whose standard is defective? A rising of the plane of living will cause a rising of the standard. People who live for even a short time on a higher plane are unwilling to go back to the lower, and will strive to remain on the higher.

Much can be done by propaganda. If the advantages of a high plane are emphasized more people will desire to raise their plane and this desire and the effort it calls forth will result in both a higher plane and a higher standard. If the difference between a high standard—one that contributes to well-being, and an expensive standard—the consumption of much wealth—were emphasized, that would be a big factor in securing better quality. Many people who spend more on living expenses than they should, and believe they have a high standard and plane of living, are wasting a great deal of wealth that could be put to better use.

One important influence of the plane of living has been suggested already: its effect on the standard of living. A human being has great powers of adaptation, and such statements as "What cannot be cured must be endured" and "I have learned, in whatever state I am, therewith to be content" suggest the psychological adjustment to conditions of life. A moderately high plane of life increases one's chance of success as it means better nourishment, better shelter, better health, better training, and more power to put into one's work.

A moderately high plane of life also means better opportunities for social progress. Group activities cannot be carried on efficiently in many fields if the plane of living of those who compose the group is low.

Is our plane of living rising? It has risen greatly in the last century. For many classes it is still rising, but the direction of the movement of the plane of the great mass of industrial workers is a matter of dispute.

Reports of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that wage rates increased much more rapidly than living costs between 1913 and 1928. Trade union rates certainly increased much more rapidly.

Professor H. P. Fairchild of New York University who believes the plane of the unskilled wage earners has been going down since about 1890 attributes this largely to the following causes: increasing difficulty of becoming a landowner, the great increase in size of the typical productive plant which makes the accumulation of enough capital to become an independent producer very difficult, the labor-saving character of modern machinery, immigration, and the rise in prices, especially in the prices of necessaries. Even if Professor Fairchild's views are too pessimistic, there can be no doubt that the unskilled classes have not shared equally with most of the others in our rapidly increasing prosperity.

How can we get a higher plane of living for those who need it most? The best way is to increase the productivity of those whose productivity is now low. Unless one earns enough to permit a fair plane, the providing of such a plane would be charity. The productivity can be increased by better training for those who can be trained, and by decreasing the number who cannot be trained. We can decrease the number who cannot be trained by keeping out the unskilled immigrants and having smaller families among the unskilled. The teachings of Malthus, who thought population increased faster than the food supply, are suggestive.

A higher standard of life and a strong public sentiment favoring "a living wage" would be helpful. Minimum wage laws are of doubtful value, but wiser spending of incomes would be a great benefit.

The Secretary of Commerce in his *Annual Report* for 1927 says, "The rate of real wages remained higher than anywhere else in the world or than at any other time in world history." How wisely are we using the wages of which Mr. Hoover speaks?

Helpful vs. harmful consumption. When we read that half the people who founded Jamestown in 1607 died within four months and realize that harmful consumption was the chief cause of this terrific death rate, it is easy to appreciate the evils of harmful consumption, but when the effects are not very obvious we are apt to ignore them entirely. We constantly take chances, hoping that Nature will somehow forgive us for disobeying her laws. But will she?

We should try to secure the maximum benefit from our expenditures. It is only fair, too, that we should have in mind the welfare of society as well as our own welfare. Science with its knowledge of food values, diseases and the human body can give us light that would have been invaluable to Captain John Smith and the early Virginians.

Many of our unwise expenditures are for things which do no harm but are nearly, or quite, valueless. Frequently the consumption of commodities which in themselves are harmless does us great harm by interfering with the consumption of commodities that would be helpful. How often does the undernourished child put aside milk for a beverage that has little more nourishment than water, even if it is not positively harmful! Sometimes consumption is harmful because we consume too much.

Some commodities are harmful in themselves. Although it has been known for years that alcohol is harmful to the human body, causes deterioration of many organs, makes one less efficient for mental and physical activity and in many cases has been the cause of mental disease, the consumption of it continues. These bad effects are true of even the purest intoxicating drinks. When one considers that much of the intoxicating liquor drunk at present is made from refuse of various kinds, and that some of it is very poisonous, it is difficult to understand why people continue to consume it.

Economy and waste. Economy is the careful, frugal management of resources. Waste is the uneconomical use of a good in production or consumption.

America is known as a nation of spenders, and is frequently spoken of as the most uneconomical country in the world. Hundreds of millions of dollars are thrown away every year on trifles. Millions more are wasted in partly consumed commodities. The contents of our garbage cans and rubbish heaps surprise foreigners.

Some of the reasons for these conditions are not far to seek. We have been such fine producers that necessity has not forced us to save as it has forced many peoples. Our wonderful natural resources have poured out new wealth as we wasted or destroyed much of the old. In spite of our lavish expenditures we have twenty-six billion dollars de-

posited in savings accounts and twenty-five billion dollars in individual deposits other than savings accounts. This is several times as much as the people of any other nation have.

Pride, much of it false, has made us spend lavishly in trying to outdo our neighbor who was in turn trying to outdo us.

Much of our unfortunate expenditure has been due to lack of helpful principles to guide us in deciding what proportion of our income should be spent for various items.

Consumption goods are generally divided into three classes: necessaries, comforts, and luxuries. *Necessaries* are the goods essential to life and growth. Without the necessaries we should die or have little strength, vitality and efficiency.

Comforts add to the enjoyment of life and contribute something to the efficiency of the individual. The log cabins of the pioneers and the bare rooms of the unskilled workmen do not seem desirable homes to those who can afford something more expensive.

Luxuries generally involve a greater outlay than necessaries or comforts for the same amount of utility. Many attempts have been made to list luxuries. Costly food, expensive dress, splendid articles for the home and many other things are usually included.

This conception of luxuries as specific articles should be supplemented by the idea of luxurious consumption. Even the things which are spoken of as necessaries can be used luxuriously. If one should use a small part of each potato and throw the rest into the garbage can this would be luxurious consumption.

How shall we distribute our expenses between necessaries, comforts, and luxuries?

The advice given by Professor D. O. Kinsman in *Economics* is helpful: "The wise person provides first for his

present necessaries, then for his necessaries in the future; next for his present comforts and then for his comforts in the future; finally, if at all, for his present harmless luxuries, and then for their future supply, refraining always from the use of harmful luxuries." One should strive to see that each part of one's economic life receives the consideration it deserves and that no part is neglected.

Engel's Law, formulated by Dr. Ernst Engel of Prussia, states that as the income of a family increases, a smaller percentage of it is spent for food; approximately the same percentage for clothing; invariably the same percentage for rent, fuel and light; and an increased percentage for health, education, recreation and other sundries. Investigations in other countries lead to essentially the same conclusion.

One of the most persistent of false economic ideas is that the consumer of luxuries is a benefactor because he gives employment to those who produce the luxuries. It would contribute a great deal more to well-being if the same land, labor, capital and enterprisers were producing necessaries and comforts, as these are generally of greater service.

Many people have been even more wasteful with time and opportunities than with wealth. It takes more imagination and a keener sense of values to give due consideration to these.

In order to secure greater economy and less waste we must enlist more fully the aid of public opinion, education, religion, the press and all other agencies that will help in securing a better use of our resources.

It is a great day in the life of any person when he appreciates the fact that a dollar saved is, if invested wisely, a tireless worker that produces for its owner. Fortunately our savings banks, postal savings plan and other safe institutions are now widely distributed. Some prefer to guard against the day of possible want by means of insurance.

The essential thing is that the individual and the nation should be guided by so true a sense of values that savings would bear the proper proportion to expenditures, and that both investments and expenditures be guided by wisdom.

Destruction. Destruction is the extinction of the utility of a good without the satisfaction of a human want. It is even worse than waste as it is a dead loss. Wealth goes and leaves nothing to compensate for the loss. Fire, flood and wind are the worst agents of destruction.

Courtesy, U. S. Forest Service

FOREST FIRE AT NIGHT, IN OREGON

Every year some $500,000,000 worth of property is destroyed by fire in the United States. The great fires of 1871 in Chicago, of 1904 in Baltimore and of 1906 in San Francisco are but terrible examples of what is happening on a smaller scale constantly. Forest fires are continually causing important losses.

A few great causes are responsible for most of these fires which destroy so many lives as well as so much property, and force us to spend millions of dollars and use tens of thousands of men in fighting them. How can we guard against the following causes: the careless use of matches

—especially in smoking; defective stoves, furnaces, chimneys, flues, and overheating of furnaces, pipes and stoves; sparks on roof; faulty wiring; careless disposition of rubbish?

Floods have always caused damage, but the great Mississippi flood of 1927 was in many respects the most destructive in our history. This flood caused the loss of 250

Courtesy, American Red Cross

RESCUE BOAT AT MISSISSIPPI FLOOD, 1927

The boat, loaded to the gunwales with persons rescued from levees, houses and other places, is on its way to a refugee camp of the Red Cross. Nearly a thousand boats were in the rescue fleet of the Red Cross which saved several hundred thousand persons during our most destructive flood.

lives, swept over nearly 20,000 square miles of territory, drowned out hundreds of cities, towns and villages, drove 700,000 people from their homes, killed 1,500,000 farm animals and destroyed property worth hundreds of millions of dollars. It aroused the whole nation and set in motion new plans for control. This great river gathers water from thirty-one states, and as early as 1879 Congress created the Mississippi River Commission which has been coöperating with state and local governments and private interests in

flood control on the Mississippi and many of its tributaries. President Arthur in 1882 urged the country to consider the protection of the people of the Mississippi Valley a national question, but most of the burden of harnessing the Father of Waters was left to local agencies.

The loss of life, the suffering, and the destruction of

Courtesy, American Red Cross

A CLOTHING DEPOT OF THE RED CROSS

A disaster like the Mississippi Flood of 1927 causes us to appreciate more fully the significance of our most fundamental economic needs. This depot handled 200,000 garments in a few weeks. Several hundred clothing depots were used by the Red Cross during the flood.

property as the rivers of this huge system poured over their banks into Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and other states, were so great that public opinion supported those who had urged a comprehensive plan by the Federal Government of harnessing this river system. But for the well-organized rescue work the loss of life would have been very great. The next flood may be even more destructive.

The Mississippi River Flood Control Law of 1928 is one of the most important economic measures ever passed by

Congress. The magnitude of the undertaking and the fact that the Federal Government is to assume almost the entire cost of providing the control are the most significant features of the project.

The planning of the engineering part of the project is in the hands of a board composed of the chief of army engineers, the president of the Mississippi River Commission, and a civilian engineer appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, but the project is to be prosecuted by the Mississippi River Commission under the direction of the Secretary of War and supervision of the chief of army engineers.

The principle of local contribution to flood control is recognized but no local contribution is required on this project because of local units' having already spent some $292,000,000 for such control, because of the gigantic scale of the control which involves the flow of water from the states lying largely beyond the district most affected, and because of the close relation of flood control to national prosperity, interstate commerce and the mails. The local units share in the cost of maintaining the flood control works, and must in some instances provide rights of way. Flowage rights for water diverted from the main channel must be provided by the Federal Government. On some of the tributaries of the Mississippi the local units are required to pay one third of the cost of building the control works, and maintain the work when completed.

Provision has been made for a survey of the Red, Yazoo, White, Saint Francis, Arkansas, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois Rivers and some of their tributaries as a basis of flood control on them.

Congress has already authorized $325,000,000 for the flood control project.

Flood control law. Many plans have been suggested for controlling the floods: higher levees, deeper channels by

dredging, spillways, preserving the natural swamps, reservoirs, new channels for the lower Mississippi, diverting some of the tributaries away from the Mississippi, reforestation, and erecting safety mounds as places of refuge for man and beast. When we realize the Mississippi is some twenty-five hundred miles long and its tributaries extend many thousands of miles, the great difficulties of control are evident.

There are many smaller rivers that cause a good deal of damage. The New England flood of 1927 on the Connecticut and neighboring rivers took its toll of life and destroyed property worth scores of millions of dollars. Too often our rivers act like half-broken colts which tear off part of the harness and do much damage before they can be subdued.

The loss of several hundred lives by the breaking of the St. Francis Dam in southern California in 1928 shows how destructive great masses of water may become when we do not harness them properly.

Questions on the Text

1. Show the nature and origin of economic wants.
2. Why is the standard of living important? The plane of living?
3. What should be considered in deciding when consumption is helpful or harmful?
4. Criticize the author's discussion of economy and waste.
5. What important causes of fire has the author omitted? Show the destructiveness of the Mississippi. Discuss means of flood control.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What are your most important economic wants that are never satisfied? The least important wants that you are generally in a position to satisfy? Are your wants rationally determined?
2. Suggest ways of getting rid of some harmful economic wants, and acquiring helpful ones.

3. Give an estimate of the standard of living and the plane of living of some individuals and groups with whom you are familiar. Suggest a helpful standard of living and a helpful plane of living. Would you have most individuals and groups use the same standard and plane?

4. What are your chief objectives? Criticize your consumption in the light of these. Estimate the harm done by some form of harmful consumption you have observed.

5. Should any of the following be less wasteful: your family; friends; school; church; local government? How can destruction be reduced in your community? In your state? In the United States? In the world?

6. Do you approve of the expression, "productive consumption"?

7. Prepare a program to decrease the five forms of waste that you consider most important.

8. How would you decrease fire losses in cities? In villages? In forests?

9. Show the relation of floods to soil exhaustion.

10. *Resolved:* That governmental regulation of consumption has been so helpful that it should be extended to new fields of consumption.

11. *Resolved:* That the cost of flood control on interstate rivers should be borne by the Federal Government.

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CHAPTER XII

CONSERVATION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

THE PROBLEM: To learn the most important facts concerning our natural resources and secure a better use of them.

Early treatment of our natural resources. Land and forests were so plentiful in colonial times that very little care was taken to conserve either. In many sections of the country this was true until the middle of the nineteenth century. When a farm had lost most of its productiveness the owner might sell to a neighbor and move farther west where he could get virgin soil at little or no cost. The landowner who remained behind often tilled only a small part of his farm while much of it became overgrown with underbrush, or was filled with gullies.

Lumber was so cheap that the forest was looked upon as a hindrance by most of the pioneers and destroyed as rapidly as possible. In burning the trees and brush, the leaves, grass and surface mold were burned so that much of nature's fertilizer was destroyed, and the loss of grass and trees made erosion easy. Oil and gas wells were sometimes lighted and allowed to burn indefinitely.

There was much waste in the actual use of the natural resources. In lumbering, not more than half the tree was used; the rest was left to rot. About the same proportion of coal was wasted in mining; in reducing the coal to coke much was lost through faulty processes.

The Federal Government has maintained an extremely liberal land policy. Unimproved agricultural land has ranged in price from 12½¢ to $2.50 an acre, except the land sold at public auction which sometimes brought more than the minimum price in effect at the time of sale. At first,

land was sold in large tracts, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century one could buy as little as a hundred and sixty acres, and in 1820 one could buy eighty acres at $1.25 an acre. There was much speculation, and corporations sometimes bought hundreds of thousands of acres.

Between 1830 and 1841 preëmption rights became an established policy. Under the Homestead Act of 1862 one could get a hundred and sixty acres by paying a fee of ten dollars, and cultivating the land five years. Much of the land taken under this act was soon sold, much fraud was practiced, and an individual or corporation sometimes came

Courtesy, U. S. Forest Service

GULLIES FORMED BY EROSION

When trees and grass are removed from hillsides the water is apt to carry away most of the fertile soil.

in possession of millions of acres. The size of the homestead was increased in 1890 to three hundred and twenty acres, and in 1916 it was increased in semiarid regions suitable for grazing to six hundred and forty acres. The period of compulsory residence has been reduced to three years.

Nearly two hundred million acres have been granted to railroads. Large tracts have been given to the states for educational and other purposes. Since 1860 more than 700,000,000 acres have been sold or given away. For a long time the minerals and water power, as well as the timber, were included in the sale or gift. The fact that the immense Louisiana Purchase cost the Government less than three cents an acre was one reason why the Government disposed of its land so cheaply.

Beginning of conservation. About the middle of the nineteenth century a few protests were heard against the exploitation of our natural resources, but it was not until the close of the century that there was much agitation against it. This agitation was led by a group of scientific men who asked what the United States would do when the natural resources, which were the basis of her prosperity, should give out. It was freely predicted that our timber would be exhausted in forty years, iron in fifty, anthracite coal in fifty, bituminous coal in one hundred and fifty, and some of the other minerals in even less time. The Western people were cool toward the conservation movement, and felt they should have the same privilege that other sections of the country had once enjoyed. The capitalists who were reaping financial harvests were also hostile.

The Timber and Stone Act of 1878 provided that land containing valuable timber or deposits of stone should be sold at their appraised value, but at not less than $2.50 an acre. The Forest Reserve Act of 1891 authorized the President to set aside as national forest reserves land containing valuable timber, and the Newlands Act of 1902 per-

mitted ninety-five per cent of the proceeds of public land sales in sixteen states to be used as a reclamation fund for irrigation.

The friends of conservation, led by Gifford Pinchot, were tireless in their efforts to arouse the public, and in 1908 President Roosevelt, who earnestly desired conservation, called the White House Conference at the request of the Inland Waterways Commission. The governors of thirty-four states, many members of Congress, the members of the Cabinet and Supreme Court, the representatives of the territories and many private organizations were present. This conference did much to arouse the public to the need of conservation. A National Conservation Commission was appointed by President Roosevelt, state conservation commissions were created in most of the states, the National Conservation Association was formed and the movement was in full swing.

Reclamation of land. There are two principal methods of reclamation: irrigation and drainage. The Indians of the Southwest irrigated long before the coming of Columbus, and the Mormons did considerable irrigating in Utah about the middle of the nineteenth century, but extensive irrigation did not commence until near the fourth quarter of that century. By 1900 more than 7,000,000 acres had been irrigated in the West. After the passage of the Newlands Act of 1902 many irrigation projects were undertaken by the Federal Government, and by 1925 it had irrigated several million acres at a cost of $205,000,000, and there were projects under way which it would take $60,000,000 to complete. It operates sixteen thousand miles of canals, waste-water ditches and drains.

The amount of money received from the sale of public lands decreased eighty-five per cent between 1905 and 1925 so that less money is available from this source for the reclamation fund. The land offices have been reduced

from 84 to 29 since 1924. The irrigated lands are sold in plots of forty to one hundred and sixty acres and may be paid for in small installments. This money becomes a part of the reclamation fund and is used to reclaim other land. When a large proportion of the land in an irrigated district

Courtesy, U. S. Bureau of Reclamation

Trencher Digging Drain on the North Platte

is in private hands, the Government permits the community to direct the project and assume responsibility for its success.

Much criticism has been directed against the reclamation work. Some projects were unwisely undertaken and many millions of dollars spent from which there was little or no return. There was much secrecy concerning the results of reclamation. Many persons on the irrigated land did not meet their financial obligations, and complaint was

made that farmers of other sections were made to compete with these subsidized farmers. In 1923 the Reclamation Service was replaced by a Bureau of Reclamation. The reclamation work is now being conducted more scientifically and helpfully.

The lands which remain after years of homesteading are valueless for agriculture without reclamation. In 1926

Courtesy, U. S. Bureau of Reclamation

POTATO PATCH ON IRRIGATED LAND

the public lands of continental United States, exclusive of Alaska, amounted to 431,000,000 acres. One hundred and eighty million acres of this were still unreserved and unappropriated, but 250,000,000 were permanently withdrawn for reclamation work, national forests or other purposes.

Many of the states have taken an interest in reclamation. By the Carey Act of 1895 the Federal Government gave some of the states immense tracts of land on condition that they irrigate them, and by the Warren Act of 1911 provided

for coöperation of the state and Federal governments in irrigation work.

There are in the United States about 75,000,000 acres of swamp land. Eight million acres have been successfully drained, most of it east of the Mississippi River. The Federal Government has done no drainage work worth mentioning and the state and local governments have done comparatively little, so that private enterprise is primarily responsible for what has been done. It has been suggested repeatedly that the Federal Government should drain the Everglades of Florida and other large fertile swamp lands. Such drainage would mean better health as well as more production.

Forests. When America was discovered, 820,000,000 acres or a little less than half of the area of what is now the United States was covered with timber. Today thirty per cent of this area contains virgin timber, seventy-five per cent of this being west of the Great Plains. Prices of lumber have risen rapidly and much agitation is being carried on to get private interests as well as the governments to conserve.

Under the Forest Reserve Act, Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley each set aside a few million acres and President Roosevelt added 148,000,000 acres. The Appalachian Forest Reserve Act of 1911 provided for the purchase of national forests of land lying in the vicinity of the headwaters of navigable streams, and in four years more than 1,000,000 acres have been purchased. In 1924 President Coolidge established the Allegheny Forest Reserve at the headwaters of the Allegheny River.

Our 150 national forests now contain 184,000,000 acres and represent about one fifth of our standing timber. The Indian lands possess 6,500,000 acres of timber, some of the states own extensive forests, and the large blocks of timber in private hands aggregate 371,000,000 acres. Our freight

bill on lumber amounts to $250,000,000 annually, and some states as well as private companies are trying to produce lumber at home. Massachusetts has purchased nearly 100,000 acres with a view to producing lumber.

While the unreserved land may be grazed without charge, a fee has been charged since 1906 for the use of the national forests. Approximately 1,800,000 cattle and 6,500,000 sheep range the national forests for varying por-

Courtesy, Chamber of Commerce of Tacoma, Washington

LUMBER AWAITING SHIPMENT

The forests of the Far West still contain much valuable timber.

tions of the year, and in 1925 the Department of Agriculture began issuing grazing permits good for ten years. The Secretary of the Interior recommends that fees be charged for grazing the unreserved land, and such a system is needed for the protection of the grass which is now subject to over-grazing.

The most important problems in connection with the forests are elimination of waste in the production and utilization of timber, fire, flood, soil erosion, taxation of forests and reforestation.

A Forest Service was established by the Federal Govern-

ment in 1877 but had very little to do until 1905 when the control of the national forests was transferred to the Department of Agriculture.

An active campaign is being carried on for the elimination of waste in the production and use of timber. Shortly after the national conference on utilization of forest products in 1924, a national committee on wood utilization was

Courtesy, U. S. Forest Service

AFTER THE FIRE

Wealth and beauty gone!

formed under the leadership of the Department of Commerce. By permitting more trees to reach maturity one source of waste is being reduced. The forest rangers have done much to check the ravages of forest fires, but some of the states have no fire protection and thousands of fires each year sweep over millions of acres.

Our remaining forests are being cut at the rate of 10,000,000 acres annually. Specialists say that a fourth of the area of the United States is better adapted to growing

timber than anything else, and that economic forces make it certain that eventually it will be used for timber, but a timber famine will exist during the transition period unless we begin reforestation now. Many companies which use the products of the forests are beginning to give attention to timber growing, and forestry has become established in the Northeast, South, and on the Pacific Coast. Arbor Day has awakened some interest in reforestation.

Minerals. The United States is extremely rich in mineral deposits, and sixty per cent of all railroad freight is made up of the products of the mines. Coal, iron, copper, lead, silver, zinc, gold, natural gas, petroleum and other mineral products are present in large quantities. Recent estimates of the coal supply place the amount at hundreds of billions, perhaps even trillions, of tons and predict that at the present rate of consumption we have enough to last several thousand years. The Secretary of the Interior estimates the 30,000,000 acres of coal land owned by the Federal Government contain 200,000,000,000 tons. This great amount of coal does not justify anyone in wasting it and it is hoped by the friends of conservation that more economical processes of use will be introduced, as has already been done in most European countries.

The vast amount of the other minerals used indicates that we are using them lavishly. It is doubtful if our known supplies of the best petroleum will last longer than twenty or thirty years, but millions of acres of oil shale exist from which great quantities of oil can be extracted if necessary. The natural gas production in 1920 amounted to 860,000,000,000 cubic feet. Six sevenths of our iron supply is now being produced in the Lake Superior region.

In 1910 Congress authorized the President to withdraw mineral lands from sale, and President Taft withdrew 60,000,000 acres. The year following Congress separated the subsoil rights from the surface rights and reserved to the

Government the right to all minerals found beneath the soil of the land grants.

In 1914 the Government leased some coal land in Alaska and in 1920 extended its policy of leasing to other minerals. Forty-two million acres of land containing coal, oil, oil shale, phosphate, sodium and potash had been withdrawn under the general leasing law by 1926 in continental United States, exclusive of Alaska.

Water power. In 1910 the President was authorized to withdraw from sale sites suitable for developing water power. In 1926 there were 700,000 acres in the land which had been withdrawn for power-site reservoirs. While this act kept valuable sites from being taken under the homestead acts as had been the case before, it checked the development of water power facilities and permitted the force of the streams to be wasted.

In 1920 the Federal Water Power Law provided for leasing power sites in the national domain and along navigable streams for a period of fifty years or less, and established a Federal Water Power Commission of three members: the Secretaries of War, Agriculture and Commerce. The public domain has water power sites with potential power aggregating 25,000,000 horse power, and it seems wise to preserve this, as well as the sites along navigable streams, for the use of the nation. Before the leasing act of 1920 less than a million and a half horse power had been developed on public lands and navigable streams, but within three years after the passage of that act application had been made under it for more than 20,000,000 horse power. The plant at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, which was begun during the World War, suggests the possibilities of the use of water power to produce nitrogen for farms.

There is considerable discussion of the possibility of using water power and coal to develop a vast supply of electricity which shall be transmitted to the various sec-

tions of the country. This plan—known as the "super-power" plan—would attempt to use the unimportant waterfalls and eliminate the transportation of coal. We are now developing 6,000,000 horse power along our streams which is about one eighth as much as we could develop. Water power, unlike minerals, cannot be conserved, and an obligation rests on us to use the thing today which cannot be saved, and to save the fuels which will not go to waste if kept waiting indefinitely to be called into the service of man.

Questions on the Text

1. Describe the early treatment of our natural resources.
2. Outline the land policy of the Federal Government.
3. Name the most important persons and laws in the early history of conservation.
4. Compare private and public irrigation.
5. Compare colonial forests with those of the present.
6. Outline the policy of the Federal Government toward minerals. Toward water power.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Describe an abandoned farm in colonial times.
2. Outline the part played by Gifford Pinchot or President Roosevelt in conservation.
3. What kind of conservation is needed in your community?
4. Make a detailed study of a reclamation project.
5. Study forest fires and their control.
6. Where are the most suitable sites for reforestation? Outline Federal, state and private attempts at reforestation.
7. *Resolved:* That the government of our state should play a more important rôle in reforestation.
8. Prepare a program for the conservation of minerals.
9. *Resolved:* That we should use both public opinion and government to secure greater conservation of our petroleum resources.

10. Criticize the "super-power" plan.

11. What connection is there between Mississippi flood control and conservation?

12. *Resolved:* That the Government should lease Muscle Shoals.

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PART THREE—PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER XIII

THE FAMILY

THE PROBLEM: To learn how the family has developed, to secure a deeper appreciation of its importance, and to see what can be done toward using it more fully as an instrument for individual and social well-being.

Forms and historical development. In group marriage, found among the Todas, early Hawaiians and other peoples, a group of women marry a group of men. In some countries the women must be sisters, in some the men must be brothers.

In polyandry one wife has more than one husband. This is found among a few tribes where conditions of life are so unfavorable that the efforts of more than one man are needed to support a family. It is often accompanied by the killing of infants. In the Nair form, the wife continues to live with her parents and descent is traced through the female line; but in the Thibetan form the wife lives in the home of her husbands, who are brothers, and descent is in the male line.

In polygyny one husband has more than one wife. This has been a very common form of marriage even among the civilized peoples of ancient times, and existed in the United States among the Mormons until 1890. Turkey is now trying to get rid of it. Solomon, with his hundreds of wives, and other Hebrew characters are examples familiar to the readers of the Old Testament. The wives usually

occupy an inferior position. Frequently one wife occupies a position above the others.

In monogamy there is a union of one husband and one wife. It has existed from very early times among primitive, as well as civilized peoples, but in many places was looked upon as a temporary rather than a permanent union, especially if there were no children. It exists today in all of the most progressive countries. It encourages a fuller love, a better understanding, a firmer friendship and a greater comradeship between husband and wife, and permits the parental affection and care of two parents to unite more fully in the rearing of the children than is true where the other forms of the family exist.

A second basis of classification will aid in the understanding of the development of the family. In the maternal family, the wife is the central figure. The husband goes to live in his wife's home and has little independence as the wife may appeal to her brothers or maternal uncles for help. The children take the mother's name and descent is traced through her. The maternal family still exists in some of the tribes of Africa, and among some American Indians. Some writers think it has existed among most, or all, primitive peoples.

In the paternal family the husband is the central figure. He determines the place of residence and rules the family, the child takes his name, and descent is traced through him. A change from the maternal to the paternal family was due in some cases to the fact that by capture or purchase a man secured women who were his property, to be controlled as his dog or war-club was controlled. Often it was due to the fact that the group had reached the pastoral stage of development and the family traveled about in search of pasture. When the wife leaves her parents' household to go with the roving group of her husband, she must, like others of the group, submit to his control.

The stories of Abraham and Lot show examples of the patriarchal type of the paternal family. In the early history of Rome the husband had the power of life and death over his wife and children, but generally his power has not been so great. Christianity, with its emphasis on love, kindness, the equality of human beings, brotherhood and a single standard of morality, has done much to make the control of the husband less austere and brutal, in spite of the fact that it early gave sanction to the paternal family. Paul, in his Epistles, urges the wife to obey and be in subjection to her husband, and in many religious marriage ceremonies the wife promises to obey her husband.

Traces of the paternal family are also found today in civil life: children take the name of the father; and the law usually gives the husband the right to choose the place of the legal residence of his wife.

In the coöperative family the parents are on a plane of equality. Neither has authority to force the other to yield obedience. Like the two kings of ancient Sparta, they must take counsel of each other for neither has authority to act for the group. In many modern families the children are consulted, their wishes considered and their voluntary coöperation sought, so that some families today are like miniature democracies—of, by and for their members.

Its creative function. The family is a creator. To a very large extent it creates the child born into it in the image of itself. First impressions are hard to wipe out and the child gets his first impressions of life from the family.

The family chooses what contacts shall be first in the infant's life, and these contacts affect character and personality, set standards and determine ideals. Professor Alvin Good of the Louisiana State Normal College at Natchitoches recently dedicated a book "To Father and Mother to whom I owe whatever high ideals I have." Countless men and women have received their high ideals

from the same source as Professor Good, but it is also true that countless ones have received extremely low ideals—ideals which proved indelible—from their parents. The saint and the degenerate often are well on the way toward their respective goals before they know much beside the family.

The child who is born into a home where the spirit of coöperation, good fellowship, and helpfulness is always

Courtesy, United States Steel Corporation

A LARGE FAMILY

This family won the first prize for size at an employees' picnic.

present will unconsciously acquire these characteristics, and the child born into a family where dissension, strife and selfishness are present will be deeply influenced in the direction of an antisocial attitude. Honesty, truthfulness, love of justice, or their opposites, are apt to find their way into the child's character during these early years.

The family is one of the great channels through which the social heritage is handed down from generation to generation and is a big factor in determining what part of the

social heritage reaches each member of the later generation. The long period of infancy makes possible so much individualization and socialization that it places a big responsibility on those who control during these early years.

Its economic function. Although the family—especially the urban family—has lost many economic tasks which are now performed by the factory, its economic function is still important. It makes possible a division of labor, although where two or more members are employed outside the home there may be little division of labor. It should secure sufficient income to provide for all its members. This means that in millions of families the mother and one or more children, as well as the husband, must work outside the home.

The family must decide as to the kind and amount of food, clothing, shelter, heat, light and other necessities, as well as luxuries, if any, to be provided. The securing of these things in the right proportion is one of the most difficult, but important, duties the family must perform.

Many studies of the family budget and many attempts to work out a satisfactory budget have been made to help guide those who cannot afford to spend unwisely, and some light has been thrown on the problem of the proper division of expenditures. The efficient family will consider carefully the way it spends its money.

In the rural districts much of the food is produced, and in both rural and urban districts much of it is prepared, by the family. The food that is bought must be selected from a varied supply, and the housewife must know the chemical qualities of certain foods and the requirements of the human body before she can provide a well balanced diet.

Our country has millions of undernourished children, many of whom come from wealthy homes where little effort is made to get the children to eat the kind of food they need most. The family, by failing to provide suitable

clothing, shelter and heat, or by failing to impress upon its members the proper use of these, neglects a duty which, if attended to, would frequently prevent sickness and disaster. The infant mortality rate in many communities, where the plane of living is low, is appalling.

Failure to provide the proper material environment sometimes causes the children to seek companionship elsewhere and to leave home early. Many cases of pauperism, crime, drunkenness and other bad conditions can be traced to the failure of homes to perform properly their economic function. Many broken homes, too, can be traced to the same source. Sometimes this is due to the fact that the wife has learned nothing about housekeeping, or the husband has not learned how to make enough money to enable the family to live decently; sometimes it is due to lack of interest, energy, or moral character enough to make an honest effort to perform the economic function.

Relation to other institutions. The family is so closely related to other institutions that the success or failure of the family vitally affects them, and the action of the other institutions vitally affects the family.

Since the Industrial Revolution the family has had a different relation to the economic institutions. Before the Industrial Revolution, which was not influential in America until the nineteenth century, the home was a miniature factory. Cloth, clothes, shoes, food, lumber, agricultural implements and most other articles were manufactured in the home, except in a few communities where some of these things were manufactured in small shops. The members of the family were together the greater part of each day.

The introduction of machinery has enabled most of us to have very many more comforts and luxuries than was possible when industries were carried on in the home, but the factory system takes at least one member of the family away during the day or night, and often takes both

of the parents as well as the children who are old enough to earn. The wife and mother who is employed outside the home has little time to give to the care of her home and children. The double task of helping earn the family wage and doing the housework is apt to be too much for her strength and vitality.

Where the family accepts home work, the home looks much as it did before the Industrial Revolution, but the

CHILDREN OF THE SLUMS

Conditions in the congested down-town areas of our large industrial cities are not conducive to normal family life. The mother, as well as the father, is frequently employed outside the home, and the children roam at will through the streets with little parental care. The older children are assigned the task of caring for the younger ones. Can the parents under such conditions play a sufficiently important part in the creation of helpful ideals?

home workers must now compete with the factory, and the work is usually monotonous, the hours long and the home unsanitary.

The relation of the family to the state has been very close from earliest times. The first lessons in patriotism and the first information concerning the machinery of

government are usually given in the home. The state, on its part, protects the family by its laws concerning marriage, divorce, children, inheritance, and other matters of vital importance to the family group.

The school is supported largely because of parental love. It is assisted by instruction given at home. Many schools by giving domestic science courses or credit for home work are attempting to increase its serviceableness to the family.

The church has always regarded the marriage relation as sacred; the Catholic Church considers marriage a sacrament. The church leaders have given considerable time to the problems of the right kind of home. The home, in turn, has served as a recruiting agent for the church, and much influence by way of suggestion or direct instruction is given in the home leading toward a participation by the child in the activity of the church. Most people prefer to be a member of the church their parents belong to, or attend.

The parents determine to a considerable extent what the child is going to read, and the press, by its choice of news and editorials, influences the child in its reaction toward the family.

To many, if not all, other institutions, the family is vitally related.

The modern woman. The woman of the twentieth century has much cause to be thankful, as she looks back over history. For many centuries and in many lands she was regarded by society as distinctly inferior to man, and her position was often little better than that of a slave. We have to go back only a few years to reach a time when, even in the United States, her legal position, political privileges, and economic and educational opportunities were greatly inferior to those enjoyed by man.

Today she generally has the same position and enjoys the same political privileges as he, and has a wide range of economic and educational opportunities. More and more

she is making her way into business and professional life and the contacts in social life are very great for an increasing number of women.

Factory production and increase of wealth have brought so great an increase of leisure that hundreds of thousands of women find themselves with very little that they are required to do. We are carrying on a great experiment, in some respects the most interesting the world has seen. These things will influence the family profoundly. Will the family be improved or injured because of them?

If the modern woman uses her new freedom and new leisure correctly the family will be better because of the new conditions. She has the opportunity through her better education, wider contacts and new responsibilities to attain a wisdom that was denied her ancestors. She can surround her children with a social atmosphere that is more stimulating and more helpful than was formerly possible. Many mothers have far more leisure to give to the training of their children than was possible even a generation ago.

If the modern woman of leisure fails to meet the changed conditions wisely, the family will be injured. If she wastes her time in idleness and frivolity, seeking pleasure only, while servants take care of the home and rear the children, the home will be inferior to that of earlier days. The home of earlier days contained the mother, even though she were working most of the time and seldom got far from her immediate neighborhood. Each modern woman of leisure should become a more valuable asset to the home, but it is possible for her to become a mere parasite on society and her husband.

Extent, legal grounds, and causes of divorce. The United States has a higher divorce rate than any civilized country, with the possible exception of Japan. Our divorce rate is increasing very rapidly. In 1867 there were 9,937 divorces granted in the United States; in 1906, 72,062; in

1916, 112,036; in 1922, 148,815; in 1926, 180,868. There was an increase of 224 per cent in the number of divorces between 1900 and 1926 and about 75 per cent in the number of marriages. In 1905 there was 1 divorce to every 12 marriages; in 1916 1 to every 9, in 1926 1 to every 6.6. In several of the Western states there are less than three marriages for each divorce. Our divorce rate is increasing several times as fast as our population.

Since the World War, Europe has had a much higher divorce rate than before the war. Our divorce rate, nevertheless, is much higher than the rate in the European countries, being about three times as high as in France and thirty times as high as in Great Britain.

The divorces show significant distributions: The Far West, the Middle West and New England are the three divorce centers. The cities have a much higher divorce rate than rural districts. Those engaged in certain occupations, including actors, commercial travelers and physicians, have a very high divorce rate.

One fourth of the divorces are granted within two years after marriage, and one half within five years. The divorce rate is several times as high in childless families as in families where there are children. The rate is lower among Catholics than among Protestants and Jews. More than two thirds of the divorces are granted to the wife.

The states differ widely in their divorce laws. South Carolina grants no divorces, New York grants divorces on one ground only, while some of the states specify a dozen or more grounds. About one third of all divorces are granted for desertion, about one third for cruelty, and about one tenth for adultery. These three grounds and combinations of them account for more than three fourths of all divorces. Non-support and drunkenness are also grounds in many cases.

The real cause for the divorce is frequently different

from the legal ground on which the divorce is granted. If one or both parties desire a divorce for a cause not recognized by the state as a legal ground, the party asking the divorce may say a legal ground exists when it does not. There is some agitation on the part of those desiring more uniform marriage and divorce laws to secure an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress power to make all the marriage and divorce laws for the entire United States.

The rapid increase in the divorce rate during the last half century makes it certain that important causes of divorce have arisen during that time. The most important causes are the economic changes. The household has ceased to be so important an economic unit, as it is convenient now to secure the necessities of life outside the home. There are many more positions open to women, so that instead of its being necessary for the wife to return to her parents for support, if she gets a divorce, she is able to support herself. There is no doubt that many wives are escaping in this way conditions which their grandmothers endured indefinitely.

The increasing use of transportation, the movement of some industries from place to place, and especially the movement of laborers have been important causes of divorce. The great increase of wealth and the great inequalities of planes of living tend to cause more divorces. Dissatisfaction is apt to follow the inability of married people to maintain the plane of living to which they were accustomed in their parents' home. The economic disadvantage of marriage causes many couples to wish for the days when each had a salary with which to secure luxuries which they have been unable to have since marriage.

The changing sentiment toward divorce has tended greatly to increase the divorce rate. When divorce was looked upon as a disgrace, the husband and wife remained

legally married even though the home had ceased to be a home in anything except name. When divorce is looked upon by the public as a legitimate means of escape from unhappiness, the dissatisfied husband or wife does not fear public opinion.

Closely connected with this has been the weakening of the religious sanction of the unhappy marriage as preferable to divorce. The modern intellectual changes with their emphasis on the freedom of the individual, and questionings as to the justice of law or custom in the fields of social control, have caused a weakening of tradition.

The changing position of woman has caused many women to have an intense desire to enjoy their new freedom to the fullest, and to prefer more personal liberty or a career to continued marriage. Some are not satisfied to remain at home, and their increasing leisure permits them to be out of the home so much that the social contacts tend to draw them away from it. Their more liberal education has helped toward a keener sense of justice, and they demand higher standards in their husbands.

The high tension of modern life creates situations which lead toward the divorce court. The husband who has been under a nervous strain all day in the office is frequently anything but an agreeable companion in the evening. If the wife has been engaged in work or recreation that has been exacting, it is apt to take considerable self-control to make the hours together pleasant and helpful.

Stability. Many well meaning people would attempt to stabilize the family by passing stricter divorce laws. Such laws, however, would not reach the real cause of the instability and might even make conditions worse, as many people, being denied the privilege of divorce, would probably ignore their marriage obligations, and the family would cease to exist in reality, without any legal recognition of the fact.

Nor can we be expected to scrap our industrial machinery, and turn back the hands of time until the family is again the principal unit of economic production, woman's activity bounded by the home, the intellect ruled by tradition and the high tension of life is no more. Since the changes which have caused the increasing divorce rate are for the most part permanent, there is one, and apparently only one, way to decrease the divorce rate or to secure an increased stability of the family. We must build families strong enough to withstand the forces that are causing so much disaster.

One means of doing this is to produce individuals who are better prepared for the responsibilities of the family, and mate them more wisely. To some extent this can be secured by better marriage laws. The few states that require a physical examination and a period of waiting between the application for a license and the granting of it are moving in the right direction. The mentality requirements should be raised and enforced more rigidly. Much more, however, can be accomplished by education. In the school and outside the school our young people should be given the information which would aid in the making of the right kind of home, and should be inspired with high ideals so that they would enter the family union with a conception of it that would go far toward making it a success. Public opinion should be a great aid in securing proper qualifications and suitable matings.

The stability of the family is vitally affected by the influences which come into existence after marriage. Family activities during working hours and during periods of recreation do much to draw the members of the family closer together or to cause divisions. A little tact and unselfishness at first on the part of a member may prevent a great deal of trouble and heartache later. If the thought and activity of the children are so directed that they take

pride in the family group and are loyal to it, the stability will be greatly increased. If a larger proportion of parents would give more time to participation in family activities, even at the expense of business earnings or legitimate social engagements, the family would be far more stable.

Wise social legislation, the prevention of poverty, and other measures that prevent economic distress, can do much to hold the family together. Many European countries are granting allowances to families to make them more stable. In 1917 France introduced a government allowance for the children of its most poorly paid state employees. In 1919 the amount of the allowance was fixed at $63.59 annually for each of the first and second children under sixteen years of age, and $92.64 for each additional child. Does such an allowance tend to increase the size of families among the classes with least ability, thus depressing wages of the unskilled and ignoring the teaching of the eugenists?

The court of domestic relations and the divorce proctor are doing excellent service in smoothing out the troubles between husband and wife. It is far better, however, to create such an atmosphere in the family that serious conflicts will be rare. The stability which rests upon loyal coöperation in, and joyous service for, the family group is a thousand times more valuable than the stability secured by external authority at the cost of such heartache and misery as has been experienced so often in the past.

Questions on the Text

1. Define group marriage; polyandry; polygyny; monogamy.
2. Compare the maternal, paternal and coöperative families.
3. How does the family have a creative function?
4. What economic function has the home?
5. How do the home and factory affect each other?
6. How does the modern woman differ from her grandmother?

7. To what extent does divorce exist in the United States? What are the most frequent grounds for it?

8. How can we produce individuals who are better prepared for the responsibilities of the family?

9. What influences after marriage affect the stability of the family?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Study the history of one form of marriage.
2. What qualities should the family create? Try to eliminate?
3. Describe a home before the Industrial Revolution.
4. *Resolved:* That the creative function of the family should increase at least as rapidly as its economic function is decreasing.
5. Show the relation of the home to some institution not mentioned in this chapter.
6. What social forces have brought the modern woman into existence?
7. Is an increasing divorce rate evidence of family degeneration?
8. Should we have stricter divorce laws?
9. Prepare a program for decreasing the prevalence of one cause of divorce. Would other causes be affected by your program?
10. Prepare a program of recreation for a family with children that would tend to increase its stability.
11. *Resolved:* That Congress should make our marriage and divorce laws.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE SCHOOL

THE PROBLEM: The school is the gateway to many valuable things for those who make use of its opportunities. A better knowledge of the school should bring a greater loyalty to it, and a fuller use of what it has to offer.

Dual function. The school has a dual function: it must aid each person in attaining a more perfect individuality and happiness, and it must socialize him. Each person gives time and, directly or indirectly, money to the school, and has a right to expect the school to aid him in becoming a more perfectly developed, happier person. On the other hand, the state provides money for the public schools and protects the privately supported schools while they carry on their work, so it has a right to expect the schools to keep in mind the best interests of the state.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association said the seven principal objectives in education were health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and character. Note how vitally each of these objectives affects both the individual and society.

Some parts of the work of the school, however, are designed primarily to enable the individual to obtain personal success, and other parts are designed to secure results which are primarily of value to the state. To keep a proper balance between these two objectives is one of the most difficult tasks of the school. In the last generation, and especially since the World War, there has been an increased demand that we think less of the advancement of individuals and educate primarily for the state.

Early historical development. The school, like so many of our other institutions, has a long, interesting history. Among our primitive ancestors education was doubtless largely a matter of imitation, with special emphasis on instruction during the period of initiation into the various ceremonial activities.

Oriental nations developed systems of education which were open to only a very few pupils. Education was mostly in the hands of the priests, consisted largely of memory work and was of comparatively little practical value.

The Greeks were the first people to establish a really helpful educational system for large numbers of pupils. At first it was designed to prepare the youth to serve the state. Later, in Athens, education was directed more to the happiness of the individual and less to the welfare of the state. While the education of Sparta was mostly physical and has influenced later education little, the education of Athens was liberal and has profoundly affected later educational systems.

Rome was spending too much time on her military campaigns to develop an efficient school system in her early history, but she laid the foundation upon which modern law is built. After her conquest of Greece she was deeply influenced by Greek culture, established excellent schools and served as a means by which Greek educational thought and the educational influence of the church were transmitted.

The monastic schools, the medieval universities and the Revival of Learning are milestones along the road leading toward our American schools.

The colonists who came to America differed widely in culture. This is well illustrated by the family of Roger Williams: he was educated at one of the leading universities of England, but Mrs. Williams was unable to write her name. A few, especially in New England, were university

graduates, but a very large proportion were unable to read or write.

The first colonial schools were the result of religious motives chiefly. In New England where the Puritans were emphasizing the doctrine of salvation by faith, and the Bible as the bearer of the message one must get before having the faith, the child was taught to read that he or she might have a better opportunity to be saved. In the Massachusetts law of 1647 all towns of fifty families or more were required to maintain an elementary school, and all towns of one hundred families or more a grammar school also. Compulsory education was provided for in New England, outside of Rhode Island where the settlers disliked governmental control so much that they got along with as little government as possible, but conditions were so adverse that many of the towns failed to provide a school. The dame school was very influential.

In the middle colonies there were elementary parochial schools, and a few private tuition schools, but in many sections of these colonies there was little education.

In the southern colonies some of the wealthy planters employed tutors or sent their sons to Europe or other colonies to be educated, and a few pauper schools came into existence early. The opposition to public education was great in the southern colonies, as is illustrated by the famous remark of Governor Berkeley that he thanked God there were no printing presses or free schools in Virginia because learning had brought disobedience and heresy into the world.

These colonial schools were extremely rough and poorly equipped. They were usually built of logs, with a board around the wall to serve as desks and another to serve as seats for the pupils. There were no blackboards, charts or other equipment, except several books, a bundle of switches, and sometimes a whipping post. The usual

studies were "readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic." The teachers were often poorly educated and so poorly paid that teaching was looked upon as a part-time or temporary occupation.

Four colleges were founded before the middle of the eighteenth century: Harvard in 1636, William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701 and Princeton in 1746. Girls were not admitted to these colleges.

Summer School Students at Harvard University

The popularity of our summer schools is growing rapidly and many schools have thousands of students.

Washington, Jefferson and many other leaders stressed the necessity of having an educated citizenry if the new experiment in democracy were to succeed, and soon after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787 Congress set aside one section, later two sections, of each Western township for education. About the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century the public elementary school systems of the Middle Atlantic states and the first states formed in the Middle West were being established. The Southern states generally did not establish their pres-

ent school systems until the close of the Civil War, but many of them were begun by 1870.

The academy was the principal secondary school until near the middle of the nineteenth century, but by 1840 a score of public high schools were established. The number of public high schools increased rapidly and there were hundreds established by 1860. There were about forty

Engraved by W. C. Wilbar *Courtesy, Dr. Arthur C. Boyden*

FIRST STATE NORMAL SCHOOL BUILDING IN AMERICA

This building at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, was dedicated in 1846. Horace Mann delivered an address at the dedication. It is difficult to realize that there were no public professional schools for the training of teachers in this country a hundred years ago. What provision is made by your state for the training of teachers?

colleges by 1820, but their number increased rapidly and at the outbreak of the Civil War about two hundred and fifty were in existence, almost a score of them being state schools. In 1837 Massachusetts created the first State Board of Education in the United States, with Horace Mann as secretary, and two years later established the first state normal school in America.

By 1870 our modern school system was fully under way, although the rural districts were far behind the urban in educational provisions.

Professor W. R. Smith of the Kansas State Normal School at Emporia says there have been three fundamental lines of advance in our educational development: extension of educational advantages from the select classes to the masses, a gradual change in the subject matter and methods of education from the adventitious and purely cultural to the realistic and useful, and the transfer of education from private to public control.

Increasing need for education. What schoolboy or girl has not laughed at the quaint sentence carved on a tree by Daniel Boone in 1760, "D. Boone cilled a Bar"? We won-

Courtesy, President Elmer B. Bryan and Alumni Association of Ohio University

CUTLER HALL, OHIO UNIVERSITY

This building, erected in 1817, is the oldest state university building west of the Allegheny Mountains. Our state universities have long been important factors in the solution of the many problems of American life, but they have developed with extreme rapidity during the present century. Should you attend one?

der that so well known a historical character should have so little education. A person situated as Boone was a hundred and fifty years ago in the woods of Kentucky could get along without an education, but the pioneer days in America are gone forever.

As society becomes more complex the need of education becomes greater. The solution of many of our problems calls for all the wisdom the world has been able to gather. Information has been accumulating in all the fields of activity, and to succeed one should master this information and be able to apply it as only a trained and disciplined mind and personality can do. A few people may accidentally succeed in the twentieth century without an education, but the number will be so small that each pupil may regard the door of success as closed unless he, or she, secure an education.

The modern world calls for a high order of character, and needs all the help the school can give in character building. Whether the individual is thinking in terms of intellectual attainments, financial return, personal influence or social service, an education is a necessity.

Where there are so many groups pulling in different directions, as exist in a highly complex society, the state needs the unifying power of the school. This is especially true in America where so many people of different nationalities have been coming to its shores. To have stable institutions at home or to have influence in world affairs, we must have schools which will train both leaders and the masses.

Grades and types. An ancient writer said, "Of the making of books there is no end." When one analyzes the educational system of the United States he feels like saying the same of schools. We have the kindergarten, lower elementary grades, upper grades and the junior high school, the senior high school, the junior college, the senior

college and the graduate school. In addition to the older professional schools, we now have a host of schools teaching everything from social service to chiropractic. Not content to instruct only those who confine their time to their school work we have extension courses for those who can attend occasionally, or give the extension work by correspondence so that the students never see the school. We have schools for all kinds of defectives and delinquents.

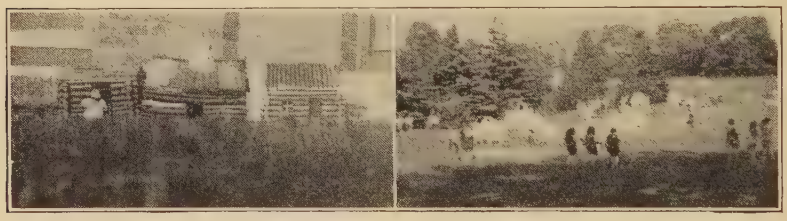
We seem to have schools for everybody of all ages, from the tot of five who scampers into the kindergarten to the grandmother of eighty who creeps into the immigrant school or the moonlight school of the Southern mountains. With so many schools about him, or her, the American who goes uneducated must, with rare exception, bear the blame for lifelong ignorance.

Changing curricula and methods. The elementary curriculum of colonial days seldom consisted of more than four or five subjects. It has kept all these, except the Bible, and added a score of others, until it is now overcrowded and attempts to unite many of the subjects are being made.

In the secondary schools and higher institutions the classical studies are receiving less attention, while modern languages, the social studies and the sciences are receiving great emphasis. Formerly the curriculum of the secondary school was determined almost exclusively by college entrance requirements; today many high schools try to provide the curriculum that will be of most service to its pupils without reference to college requirements.

The social studies, hygiene and physical training are receiving great emphasis from the elementary school to the university. Great emphasis is being placed on vocational studies both in the day school and evening continuation school. Agricultural and industrial courses for boys, domestic science courses for girls, and commercial courses for boys and girls have increased rapidly.

Our methods, too, are changing. The colonial schoolmaster called the pupils to his desk and made them recite individually. Today we are coming more and more to use the socialized recitation, and are attempting to secure better coöperation between school and community. Even the colleges are using the lecture method less and the discussion method more. The project method which makes large use of pupil activity is widely used. Some cities have adopted the method introduced at Gary, Indiana, where the pupils have an eight-hour school day, half of which is spent in recreation at the school.



TWO KINDS OF PROJECTS

The student who makes a reproduction of a house of the Pilgrims, Western pioneers or Abraham Lincoln, can secure a better understanding of the life which centered there. Mass dancing on the campus socializes at the same time that it brings enjoyment and health.

We are striving to learn all we can about the child's nature, and to adapt the method of instruction to his nature and the subject matter to his needs. We are developing scientific tests to measure the progress made by the pupils.

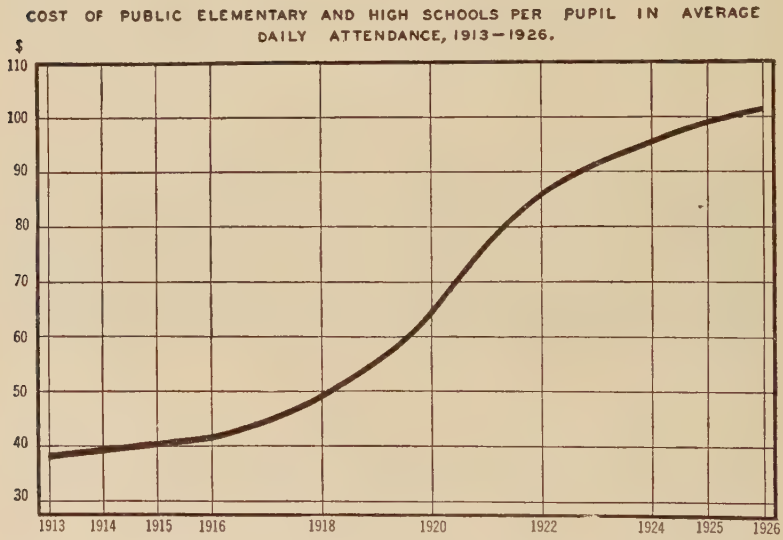
Control and administration. The Constitution does not mention education, so that the control of it remains with the states. The private schools have no governmental supervision or control, beyond the general control that the government has over all institutions, except to see that those schools which teach children of the compulsory school age shall obey the state regulations as to subject matter and scholarship.

The Federal Government has influenced our educational system in a number of respects. In 1862 Congress designated millions of acres of land the income from which was to be used by the states for the maintenance of colleges of agriculture and allied subjects. Twenty-five years later it gave money to each state for the purpose of establishing an agricultural experiment station. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 provided funds for agricultural extension work, and the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act of 1917 provided funds for industrial subjects and home economics, but no state could receive money under either act until it provided state funds and met other requirements. The Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior collects statistics and assists in other ways.

There is a great deal of agitation for a department of education with its secretary a member of the President's Cabinet. The bills introduced into Congress to secure the establishment of such a department provide that it should collect statistics and facts to show the condition and progress of education in the United States and in foreign countries, and aid the states in improving education by providing research in rural, elementary, secondary, higher, professional, physical, immigrant, and adult education, the training of teachers and education for defectives.

The central government of each state makes the principal school laws, has a state board of education, a superintendent of public instruction or commissioner of education, and exercises general supervision over the school systems of the state, but the administration of the schools is primarily a local affair. The cities and the New England towns direct their schools, but in the rural districts of most sections the county board of education and the county superintendents are the most important administrative agencies. The district control of local schools has been so unsatisfactory that it is being abandoned for a larger unit.

The administration of schools has become much more efficient since the beginning of the twentieth century, for the administrative positions are being filled by better trained men and women, and the interest of the public is more active. There are many more well trained teachers now who regard teaching as their permanent professional work and this has added greatly to the efficiency of the schools.



Courtesy, U. S. Bureau of Education

SCHOOL COSTS

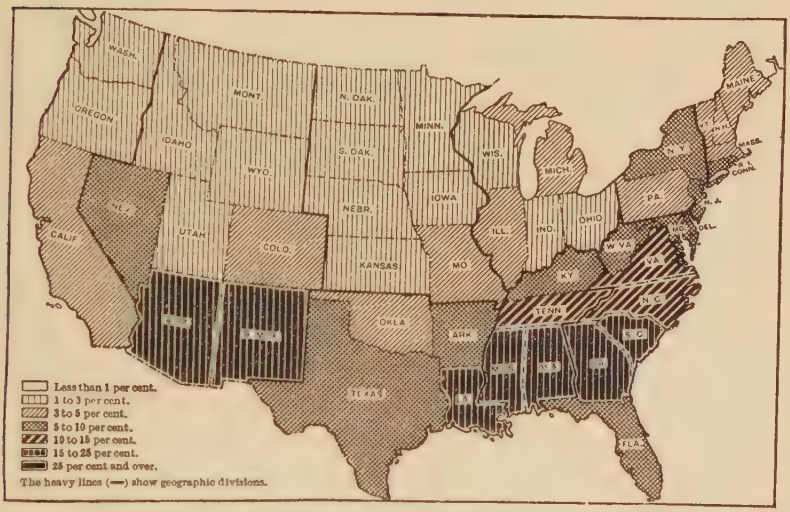
Cost of public elementary and high schools per pupil in average daily attendance, 1913–1926.

The cost of education has increased rapidly. In 1912 our entire educational cost was about $706,000,000. It is now about $3,000,000,000 a year. The value of school property is nearly $6,000,000,000.

Both public and private schools differ widely in their financial resources. Some states spend several times as much per child in each type of school as other states. Many

private schools are extremely poor while others with millions in their endowment fund are receiving millions annually. Columbia University with resources of more than one hundred million dollars, and the new Duke University with its gift of scores of millions from the tobacco magnate, are among the richest of our private schools.

America's faith. America's faith in her schools has amounted almost to religious reverence. We have believed



Courtesy, U. S. Bureau of the Census

PER CENT ILLITERATE IN POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920

What factors have produced the differences revealed by the map?

they would give us an educated citizenry and with such a citizenry we would be able to solve all important problems. Millions of fathers and mothers have gone without the luxuries and some of the necessities of life to enable their children to remain in school, because they believed education would bring success.

There are more than 26,000,000 pupils in our elementary and secondary schools with some 885,000 teachers to in-

struct them, while our higher institutions of learning have some 665,000 students and 57,000 teachers. America has 15,000 public high schools and a larger proportion of children in secondary schools and in the upper grades of the elementary schools than any other country. Our compulsory school age and many other standards are being raised. Is America's faith justified?

Our educational system is receiving criticism from numerous sources. Almost one fourth of the men drafted during the World War were unable to read or write letters, and in 1920 there were five million illiterates according to the low standard of the Census Bureau. The attendance in our elementary schools is very irregular in some sections of the country. Complaint is made that too little real work is done in school, and President Angell of Yale has recently reminded us that the European pupil works much harder than the American. The complaint is made that the school does not prevent multitudes from becoming the tools of political bosses who use them for selfish political control.

The school has been of inestimable value to America, but it will be an even greater institution if we consider carefully the criticisms and strive for improvement. If we keep it free from political control, provide generously for its support, take an intelligent interest in its work, and be ready to adjust it to new needs as they arise in our changing modern world, we shall justify an abiding faith in the future of the school. America alone can determine whether or not her faith is to be justified.

Questions on the Text

1. What are the functions of the school?
2. Mention an important change in Athenian education.
3. Compare colonial education in New England, the Middle colonies and the Southern colonies. Discuss the development of secondary education in the United States.

4. Why has a person in the twentieth century a greater need for education than Daniel Boone had?

5. What are some of the newer types of schools?

6. What new subjects are being taught in our elementary and secondary schools?

7. What new methods are being used?

8. Compare the authority of the Federal and the state governments as to education.

9. Why is the administration of the schools more efficient now than a generation ago?

10. What has been America's attitude toward her schools? What are some of the criticisms of our educational system?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What are the qualities of a well educated person?

2. *Resolved:* That we should value each school activity primarily according to its contribution to our success rather than according to the pleasure it gives.

3. What are some important characteristics of the school system of some other modern nation?

4. Make a chart showing the most important items in the development of our schools since the Revolution.

5. List the advantages of an education. Disadvantages.

6. Study one grade or type of school.

7. Write a criticism of one of the new methods in education.

8. What can be done to secure more efficient administration of the schools?

9. Compare the cost of education with the cost of tobacco, soft drinks or some popular amusement.

10. How can we keep our schools out of politics?

11. How would you improve the schools of your community?

12. *Resolved:* That there should be a Federal department of education.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CHURCH

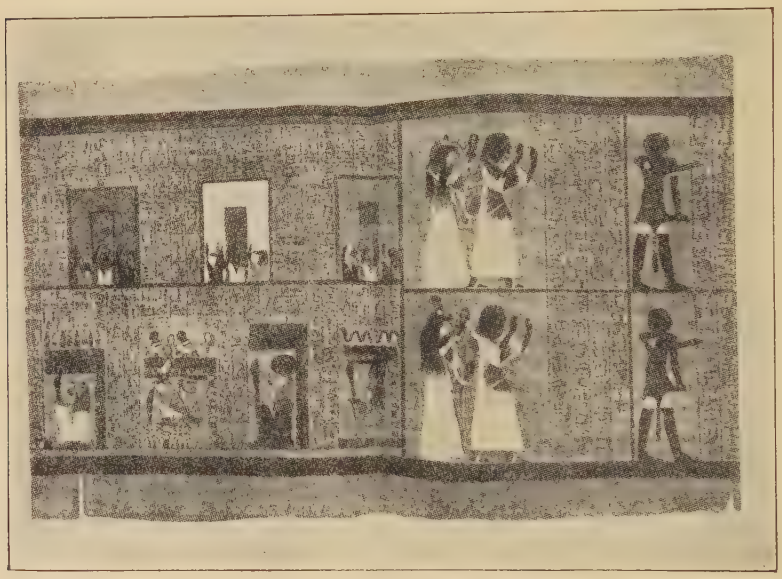
THE PROBLEM: Religion is one of the most influential social forces. A knowledge of its development and relation to various problems will enable us to coöperate with and direct the religious forces in solving many problems.

The development of religion. Religion is universal. The group of ignorant savages who worship a tree, stone, or snake, and the most highly civilized nation are alike in this: both are religious. The difference, however, in the nature of their religion is very great.

The religion of the most primitive people is known as nature worship. The unusual in nature, as the tallest mountain or the impressive waterfall, inspires the savage with awe and fear. Each clan believes it is the offspring of some animal or other object. The animal or other object is called a totem. The totem is sacred to the clan and certain prohibitions or taboos attach to it. Many clans will not kill or eat their totems although surrounding clans eat the same objects freely. Scores of animals have been worshipped, including the bull, tiger, buffalo, bear, turtle and beetle. Animal worship formed a part of the religion of ancient civilization as well as among the savages who traced their origin to the animal. Animal worship was especially influential in Egypt.

The savage knows nothing of the law of gravitation or the cause of the wind, so he comes to believe the rolling stone, the waving tree, the running water, and many other plants or lifeless objects are alive, have human characteristics and may become friends to aid, or enemies to harm, man. As he walks through the woods a limb falls beside him and he thinks some invisible spirit threw it at him.

He offers sacrifice and does many things to win the friendship of these invisible spirits which inhabit natural objects. Even civilized countries such as ancient Egypt and Babylon gave a prominent place to the worship of the larger objects of nature, as the sun and the stars. Things regarded as essential to the prosperity of a people have been



Courtesy, Smithsonian Institution

FACSIMILE OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

This book gave directions by which the dead of ancient Egypt were expected to find their way from this world to the place of permanent abode.

common objects of worship as the Ganges River among the Hindus and the rain in many countries.

The savage often carried a carved piece of wood or bone, an animal's claw or other object with him because he believed it was the dwelling place of a spirit and would bring success. Fetishism has survived to the present, and the horseshoe, the four-leaf clover, the rabbit's foot and other objects are believed by some people to bring good luck.

All the primitive forms of religion can be found today among savages.

In time the group reaches the state of ancestor worship. Each household worships its ancestors, provides food and drink at the graves for the deceased persons, and observes certain rites in their honor. Failure to do this would be to subject oneself to the disfavor of, and persecution by, the spirits of the dead. Ancestor worship played an important part in the life of the Greeks, Romans, Chinese and many other civilized, as well as savage, peoples. The greatest calamity that could befall a Greek in very early times was to die without a son to perform the sacred and necessary rites.

The early religions were polytheistic; that is, they taught the existence of many gods. The Jewish religion led the way to monotheism—with its belief in one god—which today prevails in the more highly developed forms of religion. The early religions, too, were usually tribal or national—each group had its own religion, and each person accepted it as a matter of course just as he did the customary form of government.

The great religions today are more widespread and individualistic. Any person of any nation or race can accept them if he will fulfill certain conditions.

Christianity with more than half a billion adherents is the largest of the religious groups, but Confucianism and Taoism, Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism have from one hundred and fifty to three hundred million each. Judaism, which has some fifteen million adherents, has influenced the religious life of America directly as well as indirectly through Christianity.

Interdenominational relations. The spirit of coöperation between the denominations is increasing. The modern man reads with amazement of the religious wars which devastated large sections of Europe in the sixteenth century

or the bitter religious strife which was so common in the early history of America. On the foreign fields where the great missionary task confronted the various denominations they commenced active coöperation, and the spirit has spread to the homeland. An organization like the powerful Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America would have been impossible a few generations ago. One of the most significant movements has been the permanent union for worship of a half dozen or more small denominational groups in rural districts.

Professor Ross in *Civic Sociology* suggests six means of avoiding sectarian strife: keep the church out of politics, disregard religious affiliations in deciding fitness for office, seek only spiritual advantages from religion, abstain from trying to pull members away from another church, put character above creed, and promote coöperation between churches.

We have no state church, as many European countries have. In the United States all denominations are on a plane of equality and must depend for support on voluntary contributions.

Power and responsibility. The church has tremendous power. For untold generations the masses of humanity have been affected by religious experiences. The church has fallen heir to much of the religious tradition, and millions are inspired by it and turn to it for spiritual guidance. The hymns written generations ago are as strong an influence now as they have ever been. The rewards offered to those who heed its message and the punishments for those who do not are powerful incentives. Its close connection with the family makes its position much stronger.

In numbers and in wealth the church is a giant. Many denominations have millions of members and property valued at hundreds of millions of dollars. The wealth of the adherents of the church amounts to many billions and

much of this finds its way into the treasury of the church. The theological schools and other provisions for training its professional workers give the church trained leaders for every department of its work. The power used by the church during the World War was of inestimable value toward the winning of the war and suggests the mighty power it might have in time of peace if completely aroused and directed toward a common end.

Upon any institution possessing such vast power there rests a tremendous responsibility as to the use of that power. The church makes a powerful appeal toward right living, and this influence, wisely guided, could not but aid greatly in the solving of our economic, social and political problems.

Education. Only the student of the history of education can appreciate how deeply education in the United States has been affected by the church. The religious motive was the chief one instrumental in bringing into existence the early colonial schools, and many of those schools were founded by the church. Others were taught by ministers and priests. The religious tone of even the public school systems in early colonial times is evidenced by the fact that the chief requirement made of the teacher was that he, or she, must be orthodox in religion.

A close connection between the church and education has continued to the present time. The church maintains many schools ranging from the kindergarten to the university. The close connection which once existed between the church and the school explains the existence of chapel and other religious exercises in the public schools.

What connection should there be between the church and the school? This question has been asked with renewed interest since the World War. In most states sectarian teaching is prohibited in the public schools. In some states the Bible is barred from the schools as a sec-

tarian book while in others it is regarded as a non-sectarian book and required to be read. The states permit children to attend any denominational school that maintains the required standard in content and scholarship instead of attending a public school. Gary, Indiana, and a few other school systems permit the pupils during certain periods of the day to attend any church for religious instruction, or permit the representatives of the churches to come to the schools during certain hours to give religious instruction. Sometimes credit in school is given for work done at a Sunday school or other religious institution.

Oregon in 1922 went to the other extreme and provided that all children between the ages of eight and sixteen, or until the eighth grade has been completed, must attend a public school. This law would have meant the destruction of denominational and other private schools in that State if it had not been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Agitation for more religious instruction in the schools of all grades is increasing, but this agitation has not met with widespread popular response. Where there is a state church or most people belong to one denomination the problem of agreeing on a program is much simpler than in the United States.

Social problems. The church through the centuries has emphasized charity, and under the influence of its teaching, untold millions have been given to the poor. At present it is one of the biggest influences in securing funds for social work. But the church has been far more than an inspiration to give money; it has induced many men and women to go into the highways and byways and give themselves in the effort to solve the problems of those who need help.

The congestion in the down-town sections of our cities with its tendency to vice and crime has created extremely

difficult problems for the church. A large number of churches left the congested districts and moved uptown, while many of those which remained were attended by people from more desirable residence districts. Many of the down-town churches made little appeal to the people who lived close to them. To meet the changed conditions some of the churches became social centers with halls for social gatherings, athletics, reading, kindergarten, nurseries and other forms of social service. Trained social workers and others are employed to go into the homes of the neighborhood and bring information and inspiration.

The church has been urging greater justice in social and industrial relationships. The National Catholic Welfare Council, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis have issued social creeds or statements urging abolition of working conditions injurious to health, prevention of poverty, equal rights for all, and other measures designed to bring greater welfare and happiness to the community.

The rural church. The rural church has a dual function: to serve the rural district in which it is situated and to send to the city those who will help minister to the needs of the city.

A very large proportion of the members of the city churches received their early religious training in the country, and the cityward movement has greatly increased the influence of the city church. The rural districts have furnished far more than their quota of professional religious leaders and very many of these have been employed by the city churches.

The cityward movement which has benefited the city church so much has had the opposite effect on the rural church, and thousands of rural churches that were once influential and prosperous have ceased to have worship or are mission stations supported wholly or in part by

urban churches. Many which are self-supporting cannot employ a trained leader and are forced to accept the services of a student at a theological school who can give only a fraction of his time and energy to the church. The shifting of the present rural population is doing much to weaken the rural church, as many church members, active in religious work, who move from one community to another, do not continue their church membership or work in the new community.

Good roads and automobiles make it convenient for many rural people to worship in the city church with its better equipment and better trained clergy. Many country people, especially during the bad weather of the winter months, listen by means of the radio to the services of the urban churches. In the earlier days the rural church had less competition in the social field and was the principal gathering place of the community; now more of the rural people go to the cities for much of their social recreation.

Many rural churches are in a flourishing condition, and very influential. How can the efficiency of the others be increased? The back-to-the-country movement, if it possesses much strength, will make the rural church stronger. Some churches by providing recreation rooms have played a larger part in the life of their communities. Clergymen better trained in the principles of rural sociology would do more effective work. A union of a number of local churches has enabled some communities to secure better equipment, better qualified leadership and more satisfactory results.

Religious associations. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Salvation Army and other religious associations became better known during the World War. The great service rendered then cannot be doubted, nor can

one familiar with their work doubt the great service rendered by them in time of peace. They are great social agencies working for the physical, mental, moral and spiritual betterment of those who come within the range of their activities. The Laymen's Movement is evidence of a wider participation of the laity in many useful activities.

Photograph by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth, Mass.

REPRODUCTION OF FIRST HOUSE AT PLYMOUTH

The Pilgrims for conscience's sake endured the severe New England winter in log cabins like this one. Half of them died the first winter from starvation and exposure, but when the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring not a Pilgrim left his adopted country.

These associations and the church affect each other. The church inspires to service and the churchman serves through the association; the association in its activities attracts many and influences them toward a fuller participation in the work of the church. The strength of the associations indicates that the American people have faith in the kind of work they are doing.

Religious liberty. Religious liberty is a priceless treasure. One glance at religious history should make us value

it as one of the greatest accomplishments of modern times. Professor William James was speaking a fundamental truth when he said that the world had nothing finer to offer than some of the things produced by religion, but when we remember Socrates drinking the hemlock, Jesus going to the cross, the early Christians dying by the scores in the Roman arena, and the thousands being burned alive by the Spanish Inquisition, we appreciate the terrible possibilities for wrong and torture where religious liberty does not prevail.

A few years after the Pilgrim Fathers fled from persecution in England, Roger Williams founded a colony based upon religious freedom. The large number of dissenters in the middle and southern colonies made it very difficult to enforce uniformity even in the colonies where the majority sought it. Serious religious discriminations existed in some of the states when the Constitution was framed, but the states differed so much among themselves that those who made the Constitution were forced to provide that the Federal Government should make no laws detrimental to religion. The state constitutions now provide for religious liberty.

The law makes no inquiries concerning one's religion. The spirit of tolerance should prompt the public to be as fair as the law. Whenever one raises the question of a candidate's religious connection, or discriminates in business or professional life on religious grounds, religious liberty in its broadest, truest sense has ceased to exist. Some years ago a friend told the writer that he would not vote for a certain candidate for President because of that candidate's religion. The candidate was elected, but if many people had voted against him because of his religion to what extent would he have enjoyed religious liberty? Religious liberty is too precious a possession to be diminished in any respect.

Questions on the Text

1. Describe the religion of primitive man. How does it differ from the religion with which you are familiar?
2. How, according to Ross, can sectarian strife be avoided?
3. Why has the church great power?
4. Compare the connection between religion and education in colonial times with that which exists at present.
5. How is the church helping in the solution of social problems?
6. What effect on the church does the cityward movement have?
7. Discuss some religious associations.
8. Define and criticize religious liberty.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Report on nature worship. Ancestor worship.
2. Outline the history of one of the religions of the world which is very influential at present.
3. Compare Christianity with one of the other world religions.
4. *Resolved:* That the value of a religion is in direct proportion to its contribution to human well-being.
5. Make out a program for securing greater interdenominational coöperation and helpfulness.
6. How can the church with which you are most familiar become more efficient?
7. Compare the activity of some down-town church with the activity of a church in a fashionable district.
8. In a rural district where there are a number of weak churches should some, or all, of these unite?
9. Study the work of a local unit of a religious association.
10. How does one secure a deeper appreciation of religious liberty?
11. *Resolved:* That religion should be taught in the public schools.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE PRESS

THE PROBLEM: The press is one of our most powerful and active organizations. It never sleeps. Publications, however, differ widely in purpose, subject matter, and results. What are the chief kinds of publications? Should we continue to let these have so great freedom? How can we improve the press? When should we begin this improvement?

Power. Few institutions have so much power as the press. No other agency has so much to do with shaping public opinion. When communities are small, news items can be transmitted orally, but the United States is so large a community that we must have far more rapid means of communication if we are to have a unified national public opinion. Would you say the newspapers are the only important source of the facts on which a large community bases its social and political decisions?

The press not only plays a big part in the formation of public opinion, it is to a large extent identified with it in the minds of those in authority. If the President, members of Congress, other Federal or state officials are contemplating any action, they are very apt to accept the voice of the press as the voice of the people because they usually have no quick and convenient way of finding out the views of the individual voter.

The press exerts a tremendous power by its control of the news. By its power to suppress, emphasize or color news items it can determine what the public will read.

Sometimes papers suppress news items for fear of offending those who advertise. An example of this occurred some years ago in Philadelphia when none of the papers would print an account of the vicious conduct of

an influential member of a local department store. The significance of advertising as a source of income is shown by the fact that the receipts of newspapers and periodicals in the United States for advertising amount to more than $500,000,000 annually while the receipts for sales are little more than half that amount. The advertising space in a single issue of one of our periodicals recently sold for half a million dollars.

Courtesy, R. Hoe & Company

JOHANNES GUTENBERG
(1400–1468)
Inventor of movable types.

Sometimes the large financial interests influence sections of the press to give accounts of business conditions that are more optimistic or pessimistic than the actual conditions warrant. Much of our news passes through the hands of the hundreds of press agents employed by corporations and individuals to see that favorable news is printed concerning them.

In time of war so much news is suppressed or colored that it is often impossible for the readers to know the war news with even approximate correctness.

The editorial is not as important in the large cities as formerly, but has much to do with the position taken by the community with respect to many problems. Thousands

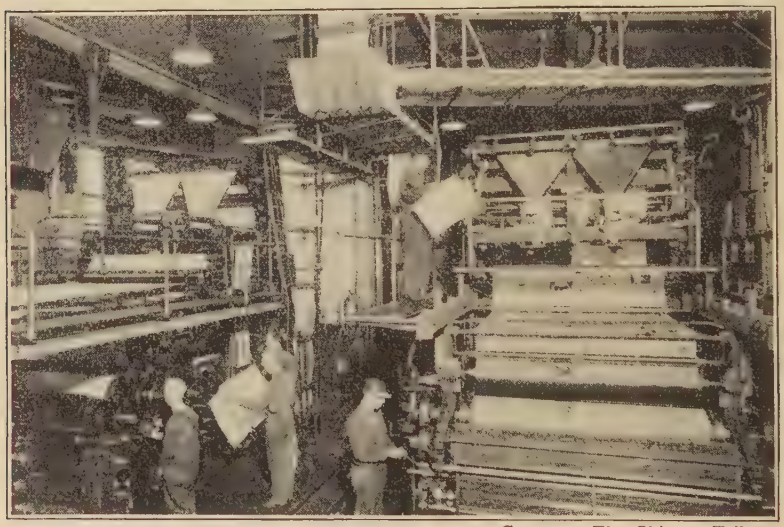
of people know too little about a subject to form an intelligent opinion, or give too little time to it to do so, and accept the editor's opinion as their own. Political leaders have long recognized the power of the press in politics, and to win the support of an influential paper is to secure a considerable number of votes.

The educational power of the press is very important. The millions of items coming from the four quarters of the globe dealing with countless subjects are bound to stimulate, suggest, and provoke discussion. The articles on travel, science, health, politics, religion, industry and many other important subjects are read by millions of men and women, boys and girls, who never read widely from books dealing with those subjects.

The metropolitan daily. How hard it is to pass the press of a great metropolitan daily without stopping to watch it turn out its tens of thousands of copies and wonder at its marvelous organization and precision! How many have stopped to consider that back of each edition of that paper there has functioned an even more complicated and wonderful organization for gathering and preparing the material the press is printing? The Associated Press and the United Press are like giant fingers reaching out to all important centers of population in the United States and to the most important cities in all parts of the world, anxiously picking up news items on almost every conceivable subject and sending them hurrying over the wires to the two thousand papers that they serve. Other press services, special correspondents and local reporters are also busily gathering items of interest.

While these items are being assorted and prepared for the press, other workers are wrestling with the advertisements. In the editorial office, one, or more, of the editors is equally busy preparing editorials on several subjects which have been chosen from a multitude of possible ones.

The days of the great editor-owner passed away a generation ago. About the time of the Civil War James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley and others were serving the editorial columns of their papers in such a way that the individuality of the editor was the real driving power behind the paper and thousands of the most thoughtful men and women turned to them for guidance.



Courtesy, The Chicago Tribune

PRINTING A METROPOLITAN DAILY

James Bryce said, "It is the newspaper press that has made democracy possible in large countries."

Today a great metropolitan daily is a large business requiring millions of dollars of capital, and the ownership is generally divorced from the editorship. The owner, like the owner of any other business, expects profits from the investment, and the editor must respect the views of the owner. It naturally follows that financial returns rather than unselfish service and constructive leadership are usually prominent in the policy of the paper. The reporters, too, frequently reflect the viewpoint of the owner.

The paper is often an active supporter of a political party and in its news columns and editorials favors that party. This results in its readers getting a one-sided view of the political questions on which the parties differ, as well as a distorted view of the leaders of each party. Many of the large metropolitan dailies, however, are becoming far less partisan in the handling of political issues, and in this way are more acceptable to the members of the opposite party and the independent voters.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the metropolitan daily is simply a money-making enterprise, as is true of so many businesses. Its very possibility for good or evil tends to make it different. The men who control the paper, like men in other occupations, wish their community well, and do something for it. Occasionally a paper will risk a heavy financial loss in its attempt to bring about a needed reform. Frequently the paper deals with problems that it is free to discuss without risking financial loss, and it aids by giving information, and seeking the best solution of them.

The country newspaper. The country newspaper differs from the metropolitan daily more than the country boy does from his city cousin. There is lying on the desk beside the writer a four-page country weekly. On the front page appear news items dealing with the following subjects: the county court, taxpayers, school building, value of reading, the drama, churches, announcements of engagements, marriages and births, optimist club, health, farms, horses, sheep, tomato cannery, meat market, auction sale, basketball, fiddlers, dancers, persons who are visiting or entertaining; while crowded into one corner is a brief digest of the news of the week from other sections of the country. This list of subjects suggests the broad field that the country newspaper must cover.

Few of the country weeklies can afford to spend much

in the gathering of news, so the editor, who is frequently the owner and printer also, gathers what he can from acquaintances on the street and trusts the people concerned, or their friends, to send in an account of any happenings. He may give one person in each outlying district a paper for sending in items of interest from that district. The country newspaper that has more than one issue a week usually has a better organized system of gathering news than the weekly.

The circulation of a country newspaper is generally confined almost exclusively to one county, or even to one town. The editor knows many of the people whose names appear in his paper and a very large proportion of the readers, so that he is apt to feel toward them very differently from the way the metropolitan news and editorial writers feel toward the people of whom they write, and the subscribers. Frequently there is only one local paper in the rural community, so there is little competition so far as local news is concerned.

The country paper has been called the guide, philosopher and friend of the community. Much depends upon the qualifications of the editor. When he is a kindly man, it is surprising how many kind things he can find to say of the people of whom he writes, and how seldom he really takes anyone to task.

The country newspaper is feeling more and more keenly the competition of urban papers. As our cities increase in number and size, and transportation becomes better, the city papers are pushing their circulation into the rural districts.

M. V. M. Atwood says the four main problems and difficulties of the country newspaper are: "first, the country newspaper is by very nature a small business; second, the small communities, as they become less isolated and more sophisticated, are more difficult to satisfy in reading mat-

ter; third, large city dailies are discovering the importance of agriculture, and of small-town and community life; fourth, most small communities do not appreciate the local newspaper." The city paper is unable to give much space to matters of local interest in the rural communities which surround the city. Will the interest of the rural community in local news always be sufficient to cause it to support a local paper?

Periodicals. Hundreds of periodicals have a nation-wide circulation and this makes their unifying power very strong. The same article that is helping form public opinion in Maine is influencing public opinion in California.

There are two classes of periodicals: the one which deals with a large variety of subjects, and the one with a special field. The former has long been an important factor in the life of the Nation, and the latter are increasing rapidly in number and importance. Both classes of magazines are using much of the best talent in America. A large proportion of the most advanced thought in politics, law, religion, education, economics, sociology, the physical sciences, psychology, and many other subjects is printed in the periodical before it is published in book form, so that the person who wishes to remain efficient in any field must make use of the periodical.

Freedom of the press. The first article of the Constitution provides that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press. The defeat of the Federalist candidate by Jefferson at the close of Adams' administration was due in large measure to the Sedition Law of 1798 which had abridged the freedom of speech and the press. The people have been so strongly in favor of free speech and press that every state constitution guarantees it.

In time of peace, our policy has been to let a person, so long as he does not advocate lawlessness, or use indecent

language, say orally or in print nearly anything he wishes to say. Sometimes, however, one is fined, imprisoned or made to pay damages for harmful statements concerning another which cannot be proved.

In time of war the National Government has not felt bound by the first article of the Constitution, as was shown during the Civil War when newspapers were suppressed and editors imprisoned, and during the World War when the Sedition Act of 1918 provided heavy penalties for saying or publishing any "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language" about the form of government, the Constitution or military forces of the United States, or to urge curtailment of production of war materials. The courts upheld the Sedition Act, but many people thought Congress exceeded even its war-time powers.

Since the close of the World War there has been considerable agitation for a censorship of the press even in time of peace. This propaganda is directed particularly against those who are considered political radicals. It does not look as if this propaganda will lead to serious lawmaking in the near future.

Walter Lippmann expresses the view of the opponents of censorship in *Liberty and the News*: "For suppression is felt not simply by the scattered individuals who are actually suppressed. It reaches back into the steadiest minds, creating tension everywhere; and the tension of fear produces sterility. Men cease to say what they think and when they cease to say it, they soon cease to think it." Censorship of the press in time of peace is a fearful price to pay. In a democracy we need all the light we can get to solve our problems, and who is wise enough to decide what is not the light? It looks very much as if censoring the press would be crippling the goose that lays the golden egg of progress.

Means of improving. Endowed newspapers, publicly-

owned newspapers, and laws to punish the publication of false statements have been suggested as means of improving the press. None of these means promise very much in the way of improvement.

It is doubtful if any real progress will be made until the people progress and really want a better press. When they want it they will get it by buying the most helpful papers and periodicals. The people make the press what it is very much more surely than the press makes the people what they are. Let us bear in mind the recent statement of Professor Groves: "The press is largely on the side of progress and, for the most part, is as forward looking as its readers are willing to tolerate."

Questions on the Text

1. Why has the press great power?
2. How did an editor-owner like Greeley differ from the average editor of a modern metropolitan daily?
3. Discuss the field which the country newspaper must cover.
4. What two classes of periodicals are there?
5. Mention one instance in peace and one in war when freedom of speech was not permitted.
6. How can the people get a better press?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Has the press too much power?
2. Study some instance where a reform was brought about largely by the influence of the press.
3. *Resolved:* That newspapers and periodicals should try harder to detect and reject harmful advertisements.
4. Estimate in terms of social welfare the content of one issue of a metropolitan daily.
5. Show how the country newspaper is influential.
6. What loss and what gain would accrue if the city dailies should kill the country newspapers?
7. List thirty important periodicals and indicate the field covered by each.

8. How can we arouse in the people an earnest and abiding desire for a better press?

9. What newspapers and periodicals do you read most frequently? Compare these with other publications in the same field.

10. *Resolved:* That there should be a censorship of the press in time of peace.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE RECREATION CENTER

THE PROBLEM: We need recreation as much as the Greeks who visited the race course or the Romans who sat in the arena. Why do we need it? Does it make any difference what kind of recreation we have so long as it amuses us? Who should provide this recreation? What has the future in store for us?

Institutionalization. "It is almost impossible for a person to obtain the use of facilities for games except through an institution of some kind, and frequently a membership in the organization is necessary in order that one may have companions in play. Men must now obtain their recreations as well as their necessities by indirect means and through the help of institutions." These words from Professor E. A.

Courtesy, The Playground and Recreation Association of America

TENNIS AT NIGHT, EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

Kirkpatrick's *Fundamentals of Sociology* suggest a change which has caused our institutions for recreation to rank in importance with most of our great institutions.

This organization of recreation brings a great responsibility for the proper direction and control of our recreational facilities, and necessitates a scientific knowledge of the factors involved and a helpful attitude toward the use of those factors. We can no longer trust to luck as has been done generally.

Need. The greatest need of recreation is found in our instinctive tendencies. Man needs it to "feed his famishing instincts." Our work requires us to function in a given direction, and to do this successfully we must hold in check many instinctive tendencies. These tendencies are not killed but like the water of a dammed mountain stream are pressing for an outlet. Who has not felt the relief which comes at the end of a day of work which required willed attention! Play ministers to such fundamental desires as those for new experience, recognition and sociability.

Our emotional life is fed largely through our recreations as we feel joy, happiness, admiration, gratitude, anger, pity, shame, sorrow and other emotions.

The massing of people in cities has made their recreational needs more acute as they lack the objects of nature with which their ancestors for hundreds of thousands of years were acquainted. The back-to-nature movement has its roots deep in the inborn nature of man.

The monotonous, unstimulating nature of so much of our work in this age of machinery and the speeding up of work have made the need greater. Formerly much recreation was closely associated with one's work and the end of the harvest or hunt was followed by a period of feasting and festivity. The social nature of modern man is often starved in his vocational activity. This is especially true of our agricultural population.

Recreation for the adult is, or should be, largely a re-creative process—physical, mental and moral. For the child it is essential to physical, mental and moral growth.

Possibilities. The possibilities of the recreation center for good or evil are immense. The greater amount of leisure and wealth enjoyed by our generation makes the possibilities for us greater than those for any previous gen-

A HAND ORGAN

The organ grinder brings pleasure to many of the poor of the down-town districts. Groups of children follow him from place to place. What effect does such music have on the children? Should the city provide better music for the poor?

eration, and we can do far more than relieve the needs we have just discussed. Recreation offers great opportunity for individual and social development. Professor W. G. Beach of Stanford University with keen insight tells us, "It is becoming apparent that the leisure life of the city holds the key to the progress of modern society. If, as seems probable, the reduction of city work-hours shall continue, both the possibilities and dangers will be increasingly apparent."

Physically, recreation can increase health and vitality, and improve the posture, muscles and nerves. Unwise participation, however, may harm by causing the "athletic heart" or other disorders due to strain.

Mentally, it can relieve fatigue, stimulate, increase muscular control, secure the formation of habits and the gaining of knowledge of human nature and other things.

PLAYING IN THE STREET

Is it any wonder that children and adults are killed by thousands and injured by hundreds of thousands! Traffic is a menace to health as well as safety in congested areas as it brings trash and creates air currents which fill the air with light particles of material and disease germs. Compare this scene with the next picture, which was taken in the same city.

Morally and socially its possibilities are immeasurable. Loyalty, truthfulness, goodness, firmness, justice, sociability, coöperation, democratic spirit, good sportsmanship, courage, ambition, leadership, and many other virtues can be developed through recreative activities. The opposites of these also can be developed if the recreation is not wholesome. Crime, poverty, and other social problems depend to a considerable extent on it. People who learn to use their leisure hours properly have a big advantage over

those who do not. Their happiness and social worth will be greater, and their activity during working hours more productive.

One should remember the advice, "Be moderate in all things," for recreation may be indulged in to so great an extent that it takes too much of one's time and energy and becomes a means of waste. It is essential that recreation

SAFE FROM TRAFFIC

This congested area is fortunate in having a courtyard as a playground. The concrete floor protects from mud and dampness, and permits greater cleanliness than a dirt floor. There is greater danger, however, of tired feet and broken bones than on a softer playground. Are playgrounds adequate in your community?

be adjusted to the nature, interests and work of the individual who participates. Unless it is so adjusted to one's nature and interest that it is pleasant its value will not be so great. The person who engages in physical labor frequently needs a different kind of recreation from the one who does clerical work.

An estimate of present activities. The great variety of recreational agencies and activities makes it difficult to form a correct estimate of their worth. We have play-

grounds; local, state and national parks; botanical and zoölogical collections; summer camps; boating, swimming, baseball, golf, tennis, gymnastics, bowling, pool, riding, racing, fairs, circuses, hunting and fishing; music, social and folk dancing; theaters, moving pictures, museums and art galleries; libraries, magazines and newspapers; social settlements; gambling halls, saloons and other lawless dens of vice; and a host of other agencies and forms of recreation. These have millions of dollars invested in equipment and employ hundreds of thousands of workers. That these facilities produce many helpful results no one can doubt. That they also result in much that is destructive is equally certain.

The worst charge that is brought against our recreational agencies is that many are so thoroughly commercialized that their desire for profits causes them to pursue courses which lead to vice that sales may be increased.

Do you agree with Professor Jerome Davis of Yale University that nearly all the activities mentioned below have been operated purely for monetary gain with a minimum of control, so that greed, gambling or vice have too often been camouflaged as play? "Airplanes; amusement parks; baseball; bathing beaches; bowling alleys and pool rooms; boxing and racing; cabarets and dance halls; candy, drugs, and harmful edibles; concerts and opera; county fairs; camping; gambling clubs; ice-cream and soft drink parlors; moving pictures; prostitution; radio; reading (the press, magazines, and fiction); restaurants; skating rinks; 'speakeasies' and saloons; theaters and travel excursions."

We must not, in any case, forget the other side of the picture: the thousands of recreation centers which are conducted by the individuals who are so high-minded that they will not tolerate destructive activities; the thousands of communities where public sentiment for clean recreation is so strong that the leading recreational agencies are clean;

those agencies in every community which are designed to attract the high-minded, and the forms of recreation provided by the state, the church, the school, the social settlement and other organizations that are striving to increase the well-being of the individual and society. A large part of our recreation is not commercialized.

SWIMMING POOL IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

If our cities contained more such pools and provided suitable supervision, there would be less sickness, vice and crime.

Another serious fault is that a few professionals participate while the rest of us look on. This is especially true of athletics. In baseball or football we let two teams do the playing while the rest of us simply watch. To the players the activity is work of the most strenuous kind, while the spectators get no exercise. The movement in the schools to secure many teams and a participation by all students in some form of athletics is making considerable headway and deserves our earnest support.

Probably the greatest criticism of our recreation activities is their faults of omission. They realize only a

small part of their wonderful possibilities for service. Instead of having so much that is evil along with so much that is good, they could be made great beneficent agencies vying with our greatest institutions in serviceableness.

Private vs. public agencies. Which agencies for recreation should be privately owned and administered, and which should be in the hands of the public? This is one of the most serious problems facing the American people

Courtesy, Mr. James V. Lloyd

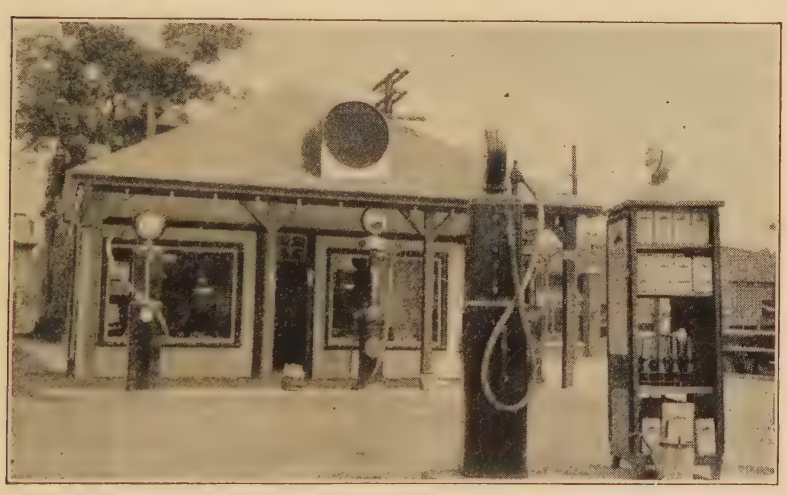
TULE ELK IN YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

The national parks are becoming more important recreation centers as the number of tourists increases. Note the beautiful scenery. This elk is inspecting the antler which he has just lost. It will take several months to grow one to replace it.

although, unfortunately, we have given very little time to the solution of it. Usually a private agency finds or creates a demand for a certain activity and commences to supply the demand before the government acts, even if it acts at all. Organized and supervised outdoor play was started under private auspices less than fifty years ago, and now in hundreds of cities such activity is provided by the municipal government.

Although the success of the public provisions for play is great, we shall doubtless find it advisable to let most of the

agencies remain in private hands. The activity must clearly be of great significance to the general welfare before the government should provide for it, and, in addition, it must be evident that no private agency is able and ready to provide the activity properly at a price which even the poor are able and willing to pay. Parks, playgrounds, baths, swimming pools, water-fronts and libraries fulfill these con-



RECREATION WHILE YOU WAIT!

This enterprising merchant has installed a radio cone in the roof of his filling station and the music draws the attention of the drivers before they come abreast of the station.

ditions and are being provided by many local or other units of government. In Europe municipal theaters are common.

The state has a special obligation to children but much of this obligation is met by providing recreational facilities through the school.

Although the government should not take over a large proportion of recreational agencies it should assert its right to exercise a much stricter supervision and control. We now license a large part of our agencies, have various boards of censorship, and sometimes witness interference

by the police, but many of our private agencies continue to be nearly or quite as destructive as it would be possible for them to be if there were no public control at all. Doubtless more helpful control will have to wait on public opinion, for unless we really want more wholesome activities we cannot expect our officials to require them.

What of the future? Those who are striving to improve the quality of our recreation have a hard and, perhaps, long fight before them, for there is a vast amount of wealth that is fighting to keep things as they are, or even make them worse. We may, however, be optimistic of the outcome. When we see the substantial improvement that has taken place in government, religion, education and other institutionalized activities through the centuries we may with confidence look forward to the time when most of our great recreational agencies will be socialized.

Some of our best institutions are providing fine recreation, and this will make the activities of the destructive agencies more apparent. Public opinion, too, is becoming finer in many respects and may be expected to function with increasing strength in the right direction. Our increase in social knowledge and other types of education is promising. We shall doubtless have stricter and wiser supervision and control as we strive to bring the perverse to a rising public standard. Suppression of our desires for recreation failed and we have learned that much better results can be secured by substituting more helpful means of recreation. Work on our recreational facilities promises an especially abundant harvest.

Questions on the Text

1. What is the significance to the individual of Professor Kirkpatrick's statement? To society?
2. Why do we need recreation?
3. Give an estimate of the possibilities referred to.

4. Criticize the recreational agencies and activities mentioned.

5. What should be the relation of the government to private recreational agencies?

6. Why have we reason to be optimistic about the future of recreation?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What influences are originated or strengthened by the institutionalization of recreation?

2. What kind of recreation do you need most? How can you get it?

3. Why should an employer be interested in the recreation of his employee?

4. Discuss possibilities for good or evil not mentioned in the text. Which possibilities are probabilities for you?

5. *Resolved:* That one's recreation generally plays a stronger part in forming personal characteristics than one's work.

6. Give an estimate of the most influential recreational agencies in your community.

7. Enumerate the advantages and disadvantages of private recreational agencies. Of public recreational agencies. What qualities or features should be encouraged? Discouraged?

8. Prepare a program for the future development of recreational activities in your community.

9. What effect have the recreational activities of your school on scholarship?

10. *Resolved:* That there should be stricter governmental control of private recreational agencies.

11. Write an essay on "Recreation and Habit."

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PART FOUR—PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER XVIII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT

THE PROBLEM: To trace the development of government, compare the types of government, and study the great steps leading toward our American system.

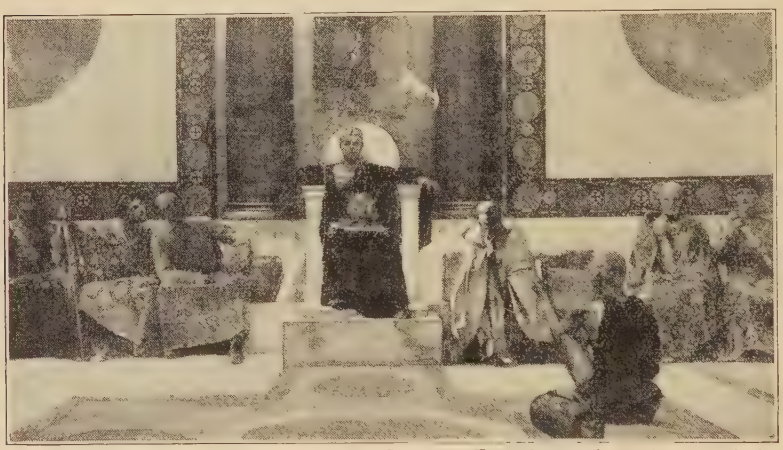
Origin of the state. A number of theories of the origin of the state have played an important part in political development, although the state existed long before any attempt was made to explain its origin. Those who upheld the theory of divine origin stated that God had chosen a person who was responsible to Him alone to rule the other members of the state. The ruler had power of life and death over his subjects. This theory was used with great effectiveness by the Stuarts, Bourbons, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns and others in Europe, and by many Oriental rulers, but no enlightened people accept it today. Many enemies of democracy have appealed to it.

Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke and others who supported the theory of social contract believed that the state originated in a voluntary agreement between people who united to secure peace and protection. This was their way of bringing order out of social disorder. This theory was very influential two centuries ago, but we have come to realize that states existed long before voluntary contracts for the purpose of union were made.

Many sociologists and others believe the state originated in the family, horde, clan and tribe. They call attention

to the patriarch who was both the political and religious head of the family group. The tie of kinship was strengthened by a common language, religion and other forms of culture. There can be no doubt that the family did make valuable contributions to the beginnings of the state.

A theory accepted by many leading scholars is that the earliest important states originated in war and conquest.



Courtesy, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

JUSTINIAN IN COUNCIL

Rome expanded more successfully than any state of ancient times. The Code of Justinian, based upon centuries of Roman history, has been extremely influential.

One group would overrun another and, holding it in subjection, force it to perform the most disagreeable tasks. A small percentage of the ablest would gain political control and force their will on the masses. War and conquest were undoubtedly very important elements, but there were others.

The theory of multiple origin is probably the most accurate and helpful. The advocates of this theory believe many factors have played an important part in the origin of states. One factor has been of chief importance in the

formation of one state, while another factor, or other factors, has played the chief rôle in the formation of others.

Expansion of the state. The expansion of the state from its early beginnings to the mighty nations of modern times is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of the world. Not even the most imaginative genius twenty-five thousand years ago could have imagined such a change. The changes in activities and attitude have been as significant as the changes in extent of territory, and the former bid fair to be the most significant changes of the future.

The factors that have influenced the expansion of the state have been numerous, including quality, number and unity of population; leaders; geographical environment; industrial, educational and religious development. This expansion of the state has been accompanied by a great increase of well-being—physical, mental and moral. As well-being increases, it makes further helpful expansion of the state possible. Can expansion go on indefinitely?

Types of government. There are three principal types of government: monarchy, oligarchy or aristocracy, and democracy. In a monarchy the state is ruled by a single person. In an absolute monarchy there are no limitations on the ruler's powers. In a limited or constitutional monarchy the ruler's powers are limited by a constitution. The absolute monarchy does not exist at present in any of the important countries, and the power of the rulers in many constitutional monarchies is so limited that those countries are essentially oligarchic or democratic.

In an oligarchy or aristocracy the ruling power is in the hands of a few persons. Some writers would confine the term "aristocracy" to the form of oligarchy in which the ruling class consists of the hereditary nobility or others who are regarded as superior in ability, but it is frequently used for any form of oligarchy. In Greece and some other countries the oligarchy developed out of the monarchy.

These types of government were undoubtedly better suited than democracy to the lower stages of development in which the majority of the population were too ignorant or too self-indulgent to govern themselves. Doubtless they are still better for those backward peoples who have had neither opportunity for education nor experience in self-

Courtesy, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CELEBRATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PORT OF ANTWERP

The free commercial cities of Europe were an important factor in the birth of modern democracy.

government. Perhaps some of the peoples do not have inborn capacity enough to enable them to become self-governing.

Democracy is the rule of the people. But what does "the rule of the people" mean? Does it mean a certain form or organization of government? This has most frequently been looked upon as the distinguishing mark of democracy. A pure or direct democracy is usually defined as a state where the people meet to make the laws directly, and a representative democracy or republic where the people elect the chief administrative and legislative officers as in

the United States. This is not a very satisfactory conception of democracy for we find many countries like England with a hereditary king where the people have a much fuller voice in the control of the government than in other countries like some of those of Latin America where the people are controlled by despots. These despots give the people very little voice in the government in spite of the fact that these countries are republican in form.

There are communities in the United States where a political boss, or a few political leaders, determines who shall be elected to office and what shall be done by an office-holder after he is in office. Are those communities democratic because they have universal—or nearly universal—suffrage?

Democracy is frequently defined as a government which rests on the consent of the governed. This does not differentiate it clearly from the other forms of government for, as Bryce points out, "It is only by rare exception that a monarch or an oligarchy has maintained authority against the will of the people." It seems to the writer that there are two essentials of a democratic government: it must be responsive to the will of the people, and it must put the well-being of the whole people above the well-being of any class or division of the people. These are closely related to the type of government.

Democratic government secures the best results for those states that are capable of efficient self-government, because in this type the well-being of the people as a whole is more apt to be put first than is true in a monarchy or oligarchy.

Historic roots of American government. Most of the fundamentals of our government were worked out in other lands. The rights which the English colonists brought with them had been won and kept by fierce conflict and great sacrifice and suffering, and we have not had to under-

go so great hardships as most self-governing countries in securing self-government.

Many countries have contributed to our political ideas. The greatest contributions of Greece were her early experi-

From "The Declaration of Independence," one of the Chronicles of America Photoplays. Copyright. By permission, Yale University Press.

IN INDEPENDENCE HALL, JULY 4, 1776. CONGRESS HAS JUST ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

What called this Republic into being? Compare the ideals of the Declaration of Independence with the ideals of the Preamble of the Constitution. As you study the problems of political organization, consider each problem in the light of both groups of ideals.

ments in democracy and the writings of Aristotle, but the Constitutional Convention used the experiences of the religious leagues known as amphictyonies and other Grecian leagues in making the Constitution. Rome emphasized law and order. The free towns of medieval Europe saw the rebirth of democracy which had scarcely been known in Europe since the Caesars destroyed the Grecian democ-

racies. Holland set an example of religious freedom. The French philosophers and the Swiss jurist Vattel were influential. The greatest contributions, however, came from England.

The Angles and Saxons brought to England their ideas of the town, township, town meeting, borough, and county court, as well as their fierce love of freedom. Many of their rights were taken away by the Normans, but soon the English people were engaged in their long fight for liberty which became so bitter during the absolutism of the Tudors and Stuarts. The Magna Charta which the barons in 1215 forced King John to sign at Runnymede, the establishment of the House of Commons, the Parliamentary Petition of Right which Charles I accepted in 1628, and the Bill of Rights signed by William III in 1689 were milestones marking the progress of the English in their fight for political and civil rights. Many of the rights enumerated in the bill of rights of the Federal Constitution and the state constitutions were a part of the English Bill of Rights, and some of them are even older than Magna Charta. The structure of our Federal, state and local governments has also been greatly influenced by England.

Much of the English heritage was transmitted by the colonial charters. Much of it was transmitted by the tradition of the people so that when they formulated the Mayflower Compact, the Connecticut Constitution of 1639 and other documents, or took other legal action, they were greatly influenced by the English theories and practices.

Questions on the Text

1. Explain five theories of the origin of the state.
2. What changes have taken place in connection with the expansion of the state?
3. Define three types of government. What do you consider the advantages and disadvantages of each type?

4. Enumerate and show the significance of the contributions of other countries to our system of government.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Define and give an example of: state; national state; federal state; nation; government; sovereignty; theocracy; autocracy; democracy; bureaucracy; "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

2. Trace the history of one theory of the origin of the state.

3. What have been the chief factors in our colonial and national expansion along various lines?

4. How can we make the United States more democratic?

5. Report on one of the following: Democracies of ancient Greece; Witenagemot; Magna Charta; Petition of Right; Bill of Rights; a colonial charter; The Declaration of Independence.

6. Do you consider the government of Italy democratic? Efficient?

7. Comment on the following quotation from Bryce's *Modern Democracies:* "Government by the whole people best secures the two main objects of all government—justice and happiness; justice, because no man or class or group will be strong enough to wrong others; happiness, because each man, judging best what is for his own good, will have every chance of pursuing it."

8. *Resolved:* That a democratic government would not be as efficient as an oligarchy in a majority of modern civilized nations.

9. Criticize our system of checks and balances.

10. *Resolved:* That the people of the United States are too conservative in matters of government.

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CHAPTER XIX

CITIZENSHIP

THE PROBLEM: Citizenship in a modern democracy involves many things. Good citizenship demands knowledge and wisdom, as well as the right spirit. The greater privileges of a democracy are bound up with greater obligations. How can we work together for a more perfect union and a finer citizenship?

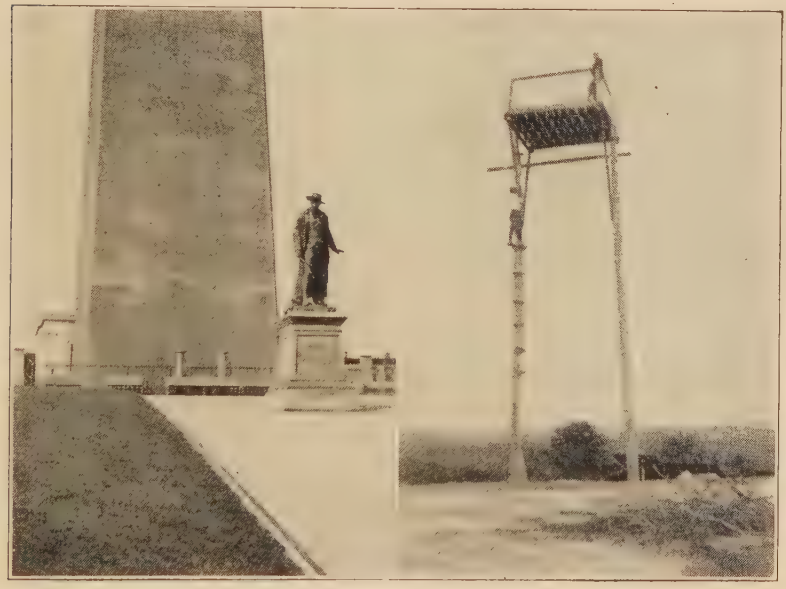
Citizens in spirit. Are you in spirit a true citizen? This is the most significant question America or any other country can ask the people living within its borders. The value of a person to America depends on the way he feels toward, talks of, and acts with respect to America; not on the way he acquires citizenship or on the length of time he has been a citizen.

Sometimes the spirit of true citizenship has an opportunity to make itself felt in battle, and millions of the finest men have willingly given their lives in defense of their country, but more often it finds opportunity to make itself felt in the daily life of the individual, in the economic, social and political life of the community. Our great need is a citizenry that will respond to the duties of the citizen in time of peace and tranquillity with as much devotion as most of us show in time of war. During times of peace a citizen may never consider the welfare of America, may even ignore the laws, and his influence be for evil rather than good.

Sometimes a person who is legally a citizen proves to be the worst enemy of a country and does more harm than an alien would ever be in a position to do.

During the World War some of our citizens were so unpatriotic as to be indifferent to our success; a few even

desired the success of our enemies. On the contrary, the citizen who is a citizen in spirit as well as in name has regard for the well-being of America at all times and lets his influence with his fellow-citizens be toward increasing rather than diminishing the spirit of true citizenship in the



BUNKER HILL AND BOY SCOUTS

Those who fell at Bunker Hill were citizens in spirit. So are the Boy Scouts who watch for forest fires.

community. He will be faithful to his state and local governments as well as to the Federal Government and strive to learn and fulfill his obligations to each of these.

Native-born citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides that all persons born in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction are citizens. The persons in the United States not subject to its jurisdiction are the ambassadors and other representatives of foreign countries resident here, persons who are visiting,

and Indians living in tribal relations. All other persons, irrespective of race or citizenship of parents, are citizens, if born here. Those who made the Fourteenth Amendment had the negroes in mind, but the Amendment applies to all races. In 1898, in the case of the United States *v.* Wong Kim Ark, the Supreme Court decided that a person of Chinese ancestry born in the United States is a citizen, even though his parents are ineligible for citizenship.

Children born to American citizens resident or traveling abroad are American citizens, if they register their intentions at eighteen of being American citizens and take the oath of allegiance at twenty-one.

The gaining of citizenship by birth is a blessing which is not sufficiently appreciated. Many persons born in ancient Greece and Rome were not permitted to become citizens, and this greatly affected the stability of the state. Rome sometimes permitted an alien to become a citizen for some great act of service, or because of the payment of a large sum of money. Our citizenship is not less valuable because it has come as a gift to all who are born here.

Naturalized citizens. For many years the European countries refused to admit that one of their citizens could become the citizen of another country. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that England and Germany recognized the right of a person to change citizenship. Those who made the Constitution recognized the right to change one's citizenship by providing that Congress should have power to make naturalization laws.

There are three steps in the individual naturalization process. First, the alien must declare on oath before a court of record his intention to become a citizen of the United States and must renounce allegiance to his own country. Such declaration must be made after he is eighteen and must give his name, age, occupation, personal de-

scription, place of birth, last foreign residence and allegiance, the date of arrival and the present residence in the United States.

Secondly, not less than two nor more than seven years after the declaration of intention, he must file a petition for naturalization, stating that he is not an anarchist or polygamist and that he intends to reside permanently in the United States. He must have lived in the United States continuously for five years, and in the state or territory where he is filing his petition one year, and be able to speak the English language. Two citizens must swear to his periods of residence and good moral character.

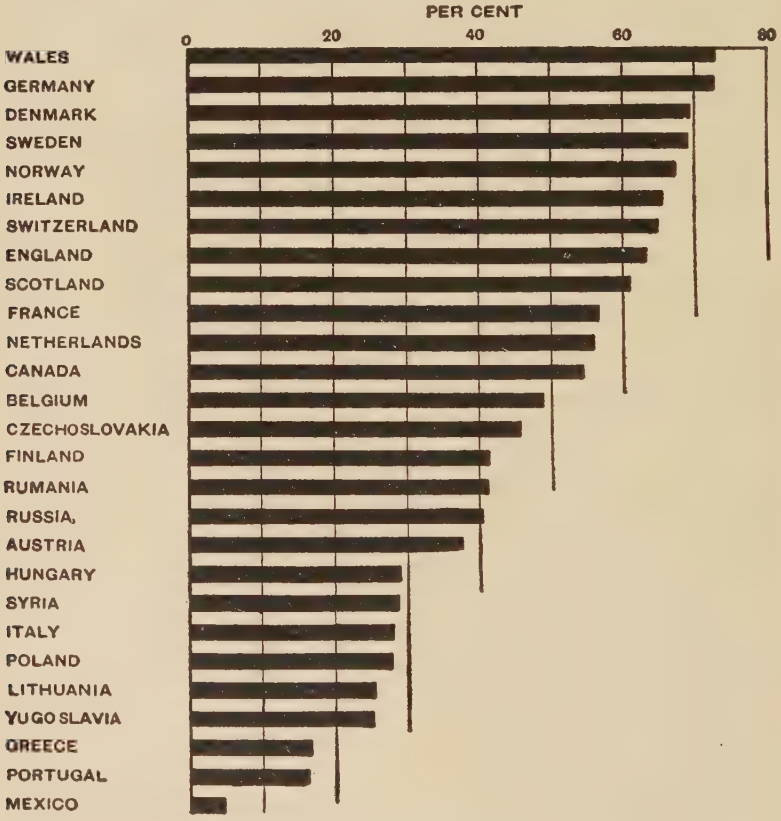
Thirdly, not less than ninety days after filing his petition for naturalization he must appear in open court and prove to the satisfaction of the judge that he is a suitable applicant for citizenship. In some courts this final hearing is little more than a mere formality, but in others the judges give the applicants a thorough examination and will not give a certificate lightly. Many judges are now coöperating with the public schools and the Bureau of Naturalization in increasing the fitness of the applicants for citizenship. Since 1926 the judges of the United States district courts have had authority to appoint officers of the Naturalization Service to hold preliminary hearings and recommend to the courts the admission, denial or continuance of the petition for citizenship. The fees connected with the process of naturalization total five dollars.

If within five years after one becomes a citizen he goes to another country to reside permanently he loses his citizenship unless he offers proof that he still intends to be a permanent citizen of the United States.

Only people of the white race, American Indians and people of African descent can be naturalized. Japanese, Chinese, Koreans and Hindus are the most important immigrant groups who are ineligible to citizenship.

Minor children of a naturalized parent are made citizens by the parent's naturalization if, or when, they dwell in the United States.

Until 1922 an alien woman who married a citizen became a citizen, and a woman who was a citizen lost her citizenship if she married an alien. The wife now neither gains



Courtesy, U. S. Bureau of the Census

PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHO WERE CITIZENS, 1920

This graph shows that the immigrants from northern and western Europe are much more apt to become naturalized than those from southern and eastern Europe. Mexicans show even less desire to become citizens than any of the people from Europe. Is naturalization an index of the kind of contribution the newcomer will make to American life?

nor loses citizenship by marriage unless she marries a man who is ineligible to citizenship, in which case she loses her citizenship. The wife of a citizen may be naturalized after a residence of one year and three months. A woman whose husband is ineligible to citizenship cannot be naturalized.

In 1920, of the 13,920,692 foreign-born persons in the United States 6,493,088 or 46.6 per cent were naturalized; 1,223,490 or 8.8 per cent had received their first papers only; 5,398,605 or 38.8 per cent had not received their first papers; the citizenship of 805,508 or 5.8 per cent was not reported by the census workers. There were 4,364,909 white non-declarant aliens in the United States twenty-one years of age, or older. In 1927 there were 258,295 declarations of intention, 240,339 petitions for naturalization, and 199,804 certificates of naturalization.

Aliens living in the United States enjoy the same protection of the law and, with the exception of suffrage and employment in the public service, can have most of the privileges and opportunities of citizens. This places those eligible to citizenship under an obligation to become citizens if they are going to remain here.

Naturalization is sometimes collective. Citizenship was conferred on the inhabitants of the Louisiana Purchase and Florida when they became part of the United States. Congress conferred citizenship on the inhabitants of Porto Rico in 1917, many years after it came into the possession of the United States. The people of the Virgin Islands were not made citizens of the United States until 1927. An entire tribe of Indians was sometimes admitted to citizenship, as was true of the Osage in 1921. In 1924 Congress gave citizenship to all Indians born in the United States who were not already citizens.

Obligations on the state. The native-born citizen inherits the state very much as he does his parents. Most of the provisions of the Federal Constitution and state con-

stitutions and a very large proportion of both Federal and state laws under which one must live were made before the birth of the individual and he, of course, has had no voice in making them. The customs and traditions that so largely control people in their lawmaking were also largely in existence before the birth of each individual. The citizen, with a few exceptions, has a very small voice in the making, interpreting and enforcing of even the laws which are made during his lifetime. These considerations place a tremendous responsibility on the state, and before it binds or forces the individual in any respect it should have clear and weighty reasons for doing so. The autocratic kings and oligarchies have usually paid little attention to this sacred obligation, and there is constant danger that the majority who control in a democracy will be careless of it.

There has been a marked change on the part of most civilized peoples in their conception of the obligations of the state. After the very strict state control of ancient and medieval times the civilized nations entered a period of highly individualized activity, where the principal duty of the state was to give protection. During the last generation or two, civilized nations have become convinced that the state owes many more obligations than those recognized by the *laissez-faire* doctrine—obligations as to health, education, and other items of social and economic welfare.

Some of the most important obligations resting on the state in its dealing with the individual are: to be loyal to the best interests of the citizens; to be fair, honest, and economical; to protect each citizen's person, rights, and property at home and abroad; to guarantee freedom of worship and speech; to provide educational advantages, and to give political privileges to those who are capable of making reasonably good use of them. The Constitution guarantees to the American citizen many important rights,

such as habeas corpus; trial by jury; freedom of religion, speech, and the press, so far as Congress is concerned; due process of law where life, liberty or property is involved; and the right of contract. There rests upon the state an obligation to observe these rights.

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Obligations on the citizen. The obligations resting on the citizen are no less binding than those resting on the state. Because the state makes possible most of the worthwhile things in the life of each citizen it has a right to expect much in return. Some of the most important obligations are: to love, be loyal to, defend, support, and help raise the ideals of the state; to know its laws and obey them; to coöperate cheerfully with the government; to be self-supporting; to use one's time and property so as to promote the general welfare; and to pass on to future genera-

tions at least as good a state as one has received from one's ancestors.

The way a citizen meets his obligation determines whether he is a good or a bad citizen. The good citizen serves his country willingly, and the bad citizen does not. The good citizen gives constructive criticism, the bad citizen is a chronic fault-finder. The good citizen believes efficient self-government is possible and strives to bring it about, the bad citizen thinks self-government is doomed to failure and makes it less efficient. The good citizen is

THE RESIDENCE AND GRAVE OF WASHINGTON

Because of the quality of Washington's citizenship millions visit Mt. Vernon to honor his memory.

guided by reason, the bad citizen by prejudice. The good citizen helps bring the criminal to justice, the bad citizen does not assist in preserving law and order. The good citizen is careful to observe reasonable health precautions, the bad citizen cares little for the health of the community. The good citizen has the satisfaction which comes from duty well done, the bad citizen has not.

The obligations on the citizen are countless, but they lead ever higher to exalted planes of noble manhood and womanhood.

Making good or bad citizens. Every citizen has the possibility of becoming a good citizen; he also has the possibility of becoming a bad citizen. What each citizen

becomes in fact is due largely to the forces which enter his life. Some of the things which tend to produce good citizenship are: the prevalence of high ideals, intelligent public opinion, good associates, good homes, good schools, good press, other good institutions, appreciation of the good citizen and condemnation of the bad, punishment of lawbreakers, and opportunities for successful, happy life. Some of the things which create bad citizenship are: low ideals, bad associates, too much governmental paternalism, playing politics, the spoils system, ignorance, superstition, prejudice, class hatred, injustice, and lack of opportunity for development and success.

There is much activity in America of both public and private nature looking toward the development of good citizens. The increased emphasis since the World War on citizenship in the schools, the increasing use of extension courses, increased expenditures for education, the playground movement, the recreation centers, attempts to secure better theaters, moving pictures and other places of amusement, as well as our Americanization work, are some evidences of our activity toward the making of better citizens.

In a democracy. There is a greater need in a democracy for a high standard of citizenship than there is in an absolute monarchy or oligarchy. In an absolute monarchy or oligarchy the great majority of the citizens have so little voice in the government that it is not necessary for them to know very much about it. In a democracy each citizen should know the fundamentals of government.

In a democracy there should be a sense of justice—especially political justice—so that the acts of the government may be founded on justice. In a country where there is autocratic control, a sense of justice might destroy the government because of its inequalities. There is greater need of intelligence and breadth of vision among the masses

of the people in a democracy, as they either direct the policies of the government or control those who direct the policies. In a democracy there is need of a widespread spirit of tolerance to prevent undue pressure by the majority. There is needed, too, a greater spirit of loyalty and coöperation, since much of the impetus to right conduct must come from within the individual as the strict control and direction of the autocratic state are missing.

A PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL

Since a democracy requires a finer type of citizenship than any other type of government, it should make provision for public secondary education. Do you think the citizenship of students in our high schools is fine enough to repay the state for offering facilities for public secondary education?

The citizens of a democracy must be educated if that democracy is to endure. The founders of the American Government saw this clearly and in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and other measures gave concrete proof of their conviction.

The higher standards demanded by the democracy are far more than compensated for by the reward they bring—more power to wield for all the things in which one is interested.

The American democracy faces a peculiar task. The coming of the multitudes to America has momentous possibilities. If she can direct the helpful faculties of these peoples so that they will function properly here, and can curb their bad characteristics, the possibilities of a healthy national development are very great. If, on the other hand, she is unable to do this, she may find herself in very great danger without even the unity of a single race. It behooves America to take special care that those who come from other countries shall come in contact with the best American tradition so that they may have a better opportunity to become true, helpful citizens of their adopted country.

The interest and effort that are manifesting themselves in the Americanization movement are proof that the American people are becoming more and more conscious of the need of making those from foreign countries who are living here more truly American. The ideals of freedom and democracy must be constantly stressed by both word and deed, that they may find a firmer lodgement and fill a larger place in the minds and hearts of those coming to America than any bitterness or hatred caused by disagreeable economic and social contacts. In striving to win those of foreign birth to accept and be loyal to the highest ideals of America, these ideals will also be kept before the native-born and they, too, will be better Americans.

Questions on the Text

Including the Amendments to the Constitution

1. On what does the value of a person to America depend?
2. Who are native-born citizens of the United States?
3. What are the terms of our naturalization laws? Who are eligible for naturalization? What are the principal obligations resting on the state? On the citizen?
4. What things tend to make good citizens? Bad citizens?

5. Why is there need for a higher standard of citizenship in a democracy than in an absolute monarchy or oligarchy?

6. What rights are guaranteed by the amendments to the Constitution?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Enumerate the most important ways in which citizens of school age can prove that they are good citizens.

2. Should we differentiate national and state citizenship?

3. Trace the history of "jus gentium" and "jus soli."

4. *Resolved:* That naturalized citizens have a keener appreciation of the value of American liberty than native-born ones.

5. Should Indians who are living in their tribal relations be permitted to retain their citizenship?

6. What important obligations on the state or on the citizen are omitted in this chapter?

7. Who is responsible for the good citizen's goodness? For the bad citizen's badness?

8. Enumerate ten ways of making good citizens, exclusive of those mentioned in this chapter.

9. Make a list of the qualities of the good citizen. Of the bad citizen.

10. *Resolved:* That it is easier to be a good citizen in time of war than in time of peace.

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CHAPTER XX

RELATION OF THE UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

THE PROBLEM: To understand the relation of each unit of government to every other unit, and to consider the question of securing a more effective relationship.

The relationship of the units of government is of such vital concern that the failure to understand it has caused much confusion. The student of American government must see clearly the relationship of the different units if he is to understand the function of each.

The people. The people are fundamental in our system of government. At the time of the formation of our state and national governments they possessed all power and could have set up any kind of government they chose. They still possess all authority and power, save what they

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THE PEOPLE

The people are fundamental in our system of government. This is an election scene in New York City.

have voluntarily given, during their pleasure, to the Constitution or other parts of our governments.

The people have the power to change anything they do not like in either the Federal or state government. It is sometimes a very difficult and slow process on account of the means chosen for expressing their will, as, for instance, the amending of the Constitution or changing the personnel of the Supreme Court. The way of doing all these things can be changed, however, if the people so desire. Whatever is done by any unit of the government is really done in the name of the people because of power given to it by the people.

Through the initiative, referendum and recall the people are now exercising directly much of the authority formerly given to other units.

Both Federal and state governments act directly on the people so that from the standpoint of control, each individual is directly responsible to both governments, although more than half the amendments to the Constitution are to protect the individual from tyrannical action of these governments. Under the Articles of Confederation the central government reached the people through the state governments. Except in so far as the Constitution binds the state, each state has all authority over its citizens and can control their lives even to the minutest detail. We must have such intelligent public opinion and so much political wisdom that this tremendous power shall not be used unwisely by the states.

Federal and state. On July 4, 1776, when the colonies separated from England, the Continental Congress stressed the fact that the colonies had become thirteen independent and sovereign states and that each state possessed power to do all things which other sovereign nations could do. Each state might have kept all power and continued its existence without any federal government. Under the Articles of

Confederation each state did retain practically all the powers of an independent state, and the United States was a confederacy with a central government so weak that the Articles say, "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence."

When the Federal Government was brought into existence by the Constitution, certain powers were given to it while all other powers which the state possessed were retained by the state, and are still retained, with the exception of the powers given to the Federal Government by the amendments. In an attempt to make it doubly sure that the Federal Government cannot widen its field of authority unduly the Tenth Amendment declares, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The Constitution therefore determines the relationship of the Federal and state governments by marking off the limits of the Federal Government. The powers of the Federal Government are delegated; those of the states are inherent. The only uncertainty is that which arises as to the meaning of the Constitution, but that this uncertainty has been very great is abundantly proved by the long fight between the advocates of states' rights and the advocates of a strong central government.

With the interpretation of the Constitution by Chief Justice Marshall and others, and the changing of public sentiment, there has been a marked decline in the importance of the state and a corresponding rise in the importance of the national unit. Some of the amendments, too, have broadened the field of authority of the Federal government. Although each unit is still supreme in its own sphere, the sphere of the Federal Government has continuously widened.

The Federal Government, through the Supreme Court,

is the final authority as to the dividing line between the two spheres as laid down in the Constitution. This authority was vigorously denied in the early days of the Republic by many of the states' rights advocates. This denial was earnestly voiced in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and the South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification of 1832. The Fourteenth Amendment has given the Supreme Court much authority over state legislation by forbidding the

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THE CAPITOL

states to abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States, or to deprive them of life, liberty or property without due process of law. The Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional a law of Oregon requiring all children to attend a public school, on the ground that this was an undue interference with parental authority.

Those who framed the Constitution tried to give the Federal Government jurisdiction over the things of general interest to all the states; the things which demand unified control, such as national defense; the things which would

be apt to divide the states, as commerce; and to leave to the states those things in which diversity of treatment to fit smaller territorial units seemed desirable. In practice, however, this division of the sphere of activity is at present much less distinct than formerly. By subsidies to the states, the Federal Government is to a considerable extent influencing the legislation of the states in many fields, including public health, education, welfare work for mothers and infants, and highway construction. The states sometimes receive $100,000,000 from the Federal Government in a single year.

There is overlapping of Federal and state jurisdiction in some matters. The Eighteenth Amendment, for instance, declares that Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this Amendment. The United States guarantees to each state a republican form of government, freedom from invasion and, when requested, freedom from domestic violence.

Interstate relations. Under the Articles of Confederation, the relation of the states to one another was extremely unfortunate. They quarreled over boundary lines, commerce and other things until it seemed that the confederation would be torn asunder.

The lesson to be drawn from these disputes was heeded by those who made the Constitution, and some of the things over which the states quarreled were put under the jurisdiction of the United States, while the Supreme Court was given original jurisdiction over all cases between the states. Thus did the Constitutional provisions prepare the way for a more amicable relationship, and except for the slavery question, the relationship has generally been friendly in spite of the different economic and social developments.

All states are on a plane of equality. Each is largely independent and is privileged to treat the other states as it

treats foreign countries except with respect to those things in the Constitution which bind the states. Each state is required to give full credit to the laws, records and judicial proceedings of the other states. If a court of a state has proper jurisdiction in any matter, every other state must accept the decision of the court as binding. The right of extradition exists and usually the requisition of one state is honored by the other and the fugitive from justice returned, but no machinery has been provided to compel one state to honor the requisition. Sometimes the fugitive is not returned.

Each state is required to extend the privileges and immunities of its citizens to the citizens of other states. This right of one citizen to enter other states without fear of suffering discriminating regulations such as excessive taxes or restricted business privileges is sometimes spoken of as interstate citizenship, and has done much to promote interstate good will.

The conference of governors, which has met annually since President Roosevelt called the first meeting in 1908 to consider the conservation of natural resources, tends to further the spirit of good will among the states.

Intra-state units. The fundamental authority in a state is the people of the entire state acting as a whole. The state government as representative of the people is supreme over county, town, city, and all other political divisions of the state and is entirely free to create, destroy and control them except where such action would be in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. In practice, all the states have constitutions which limit the powers that may be exercised by the representatives of the people, but these limitations and those of the Constitution of the United States are the only things which limit their powers except in those matters in which the courts recognize the common law as binding.

The county, city and other subdivisions of the state exist for convenience. They are used very largely to administer state law. They also have charge of some things, such as local parks, which are chiefly of local interest, and make regulations which are chiefly local in character. All the power possessed by them has been given by the state and can be withdrawn or changed. Like private corporations, they have been empowered to do certain things—and certain things only.

Until recently, the states were not exercising much direct supervision over the administration of the county. Each county managed its affairs efficiently or inefficiently according to the quality of local officials and local public opinion. Now, however, the states are beginning to demand certain standards in county administration, and provide more supervision.

A village or borough is a section of a county or New England town which has become incorporated for the purpose of carrying on more governmental functions than the county or town provides. It is usually more densely populated than the rural section surrounding it and the minimum number of people who form a village or borough is sometimes as small as one or two hundred. The village weakens the county or town government because it does for itself some of the things formerly done for it by the county or town. In some states, small incorporated communities are known as towns but they differ from the village in name only. We shall call this type of community a village even though it is known in some parts of the country by other names.

The New England towns are the subdivisions of counties and include all parts of the county, even the most thinly settled, not included in a city. Since the town is the most important unit of rural local government in New England and performs most of the functions of the county, or county

and township, in other parts of the country, the states of that section are exercising more and more supervision over its affairs.

The relations of the state governments and city governments were very unfortunate during most of the nineteenth century. There were many abuses inflicted on the cities by the state legislatures. Sometimes the state legislatures required cities to spend large sums to make improvements which should not have been made, and granted franchises contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants of the cities. State interference was especially bad during the third quarter of the century.

Much has been done during the last half century to limit the powers of the legislature over the cities. Special legislation for cities is sometimes forbidden. In this case, legislation must include all cities of a certain size. The city is sometimes given the right to choose between a number of charters. Even municipal home rule, begun by Missouri, giving the city the right to make its own charter, is now present in sixteen states. In some states home rule is extended to all cities and villages, but in a majority of the states granting home rule it does not apply to villages and very small cities. The charters which created the cities and defined their powers have been broadened so that many cities have far less state interference than formerly.

The large cities, especially, have felt they were being unjustly treated. New York City, which contains more inhabitants than the rest of the State, feels that the minority is dictating to the majority. Even now state commissions sometimes have complete control of things primarily of interest to the local community such as streets, police and appropriations.

As civilization becomes more complex, the state and local interests react more and more upon each other. Transportation facilities, communicable diseases and a vast num-

ber of other things affect both state and local community vitally. The closer social and economic contacts brought about by the changing social order may cause the state to take over permanently many functions which are now left to the local governments.

Federal and territorial. By the Ordinance of 1787 Congress laid the foundation of our policy of territorial government by providing for a temporary government under officials appointed by Congress and promising a representative legislature as soon as there were five thousand free male inhabitants of voting age in the territory. The Constitution gives Congress the power to "make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory" of the United States, and Congress followed closely the Ordinance of 1787 in dealing with our continental territories, and provided almost as many rights for the people there as were possessed by the people of the states. Although Congress has all the governmental authority that exists in a territory and can set up or change the government at will, the Supreme Court has held that the people of the organized territories must have trial by jury and certain other rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

When America secured Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and other insular possessions which were not accustomed to self-government, the Supreme Court decided that the fundamental parts of the Constitution applied to these possessions, but that Congress need not observe the formal provisions of the Constitution in dealing with them. It declared, for instance, that indictment by grand jury and trial by petit jury were not necessary in Hawaii.

Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands have representative government subject to the control of Congress. Each has a legislature of two houses elected by popular vote, and a governor appointed by the President

with the consent of the Senate. The highest judicial officers of each are appointed by the President and Senate. Alaska and Hawaii are represented in the House of Representatives by one delegate each, Porto Rico by one commissioner and the Philippines by two commissioners. Each delegate and commissioner may speak on measures which affect the territory he represents, but he cannot vote.

The Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone, Guam, Samoa, and the District of Columbia have no self-government but are governed by Federal officers, civil or military. No government has been prepared for Midway, Howland, Baker's and Guano Islands.

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CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA

The San Francisco regulation of 1906 which forbade Chinese, Japanese and Korean pupils to attend the same schools that other pupils attended, the California law of 1913 which prohibited the Asiatics from holding land, and the various attempts of the Federal Government to regulate or prohibit Asiatic immigration illustrate the fact that city, state and Nation must coöperate in solving the problem of Oriental immigration. So it is with many other important problems. San Francisco, California and the Federal Government each made some concessions. We are constantly in need of a fine type of coöperation between local, state and Federal governments.

Making adjustments. It is very difficult to make satisfactory adjustments where the units of government are so numerous. Constant causes of jealousy and friction will arise between the various units, and a spirit of forbearance is often needed when it seems to each of two units that the other is not fair or efficient. Jealousy, self-interest, and other disruptive forces, are not always easy to control. The unifying influence of the ideals of justice, liberty and patriotism must be stressed. The greatest wisdom possible must be used to determine whether the work of governing is properly distributed between the units. The problem is all the more complicated because there are executive, legislative and judicial functions to be exercised by each unit. One inefficient unit may involve other units in difficulty. It behooves us to make every unit strong!

Questions on the Text

Including Article IV of the Constitution

1. What is the relationship of the people to the other units of government?
2. What important change in the relationship of Federal and state units of government has occurred since 1789?
3. Name the requirements which bind each state in its relation with other states and show the significance of these.
4. What is the legal relationship of the state and local governments?
5. To what extent are the territorial governments of Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands alike?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Compare the relationship of American units of government with those of England, France and Germany.
2. Trace the Constitutional development of Federal and state relations since 1789.
3. How can a greater spirit of coöperation and helpfulness be secured between states?

4. Should there be a decrease of the power of self-government of any of the local units of government?

5. *Resolved:* That cities of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants should have home rule.

6. Study the government of one of our territories.

7. Should the Philippine Islands be given their independence immediately?

8. Make a list of the disruptive forces that tend to make for friction between the units, and a list of the unifying forces which tend to bring harmony.

9. *Resolved:* That Porto Rico should be given statehood.

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CHAPTER XXI

STATE AND LOCAL LAW AND LAWMAKING

THE PROBLEM: To learn the most essential facts about each source of the state and local law under which we live, and consider what can be done to strengthen each source. Are there laws you do not like? Do you desire any new laws? When you and the lawmakers disagree, what will you do to secure what you consider the best laws?

Expanding legislation. Although the field in which the states have the power to legislate has been somewhat lessened by the expansion of the powers of the National Government, the actual legislation of the states has expanded rapidly in recent years as our increasingly complex life has made many economic, social and political problems more acute. The legislatures pass hundreds of laws at each session, many of which are elaborate attempts to regulate conditions of employment, to safeguard the public from injury, disease or fraud, and to control human relations in a way that was scarcely dreamed of a century ago. Hours of labor, wages, sanitation, fire escapes, vaccination, transportation lines, wild game, school attendance, recreation, alcoholic beverages, habit-forming drugs and a great variety of other things are now regulated by law in many states.

To what extent is this activity of the state a help to society in solving its ever increasingly difficult problems? To what extent does it hamper the individual and voluntary groups and make it more difficult for society to function properly? We need great wisdom and care to adjust our lawmaking to our needs.

The common law. The common law of a country is its unwritten law that has come into being through the fact

that the courts have frequently recognized the customs of a people as binding where there was no statute to cover an offense which the judge felt the courts should deal with. It is law which is made up largely of precedents set by court decisions. The English common law, for instance, permitted the oldest son to be the chief heir of his ancestors, and this continued for generations to be in force in spite of its injustice.

The common law of England has profoundly influenced American law. There has, however, been some development on American soil of the old English common law, and this development has been slightly different in the several states. Louisiana, which was settled by the French, has never been deeply influenced by English law. The Code Napoléon which was based on the common law of France has been more influential in that State. Some of the states have codified their law and in large measure done away with the common law, but in most states it is still influential. It has done much to shape the course of statutory law. Many of our laws, concerning wills, deeds, marriage and countless other subjects, which are made by our lawmaking bodies today are scarcely more than repetitions of regulations that long existed as part of the common law.

The state constitution. With New Hampshire leading the way, four of the states adopted constitutions before the Declaration of Independence. When the colonies declared themselves sovereign states it seemed necessary that they have a written basis of government, so all the states quickly adopted constitutions except Connecticut and Rhode Island. These two states used their colonial charters nearly unchanged. The early constitutions were very brief; most of them contained a frame of government, suffrage requirements, and bills of rights, with little or nothing else.

As new constitutions were adopted from time to time, much more material was put into them until at the present

time many of them cover two or three score pages, and several are even longer. The shortest constitutions today are those which have been in use longest. One reason for the greater length has been the growing distrust of the legislatures. In the eighteenth century the executive branch of the government was feared most and the people looked to the legislature to protect them from injustice but during the progress of the nineteenth century the legislature lost much of this confidence. The social and economic problems which have become so important since the adoption of the first constitutions have influenced the constitutions in the direction of greater length.

Some of the most important provisions of the present constitutions are those which provide a bill of rights, the frame of government, commissions and regulations for dealing with social or economic problems, such as taxation and indebtedness, regulations for suffrage and elections and, in many states, the initiative and referendum. In content as well as in length most of the state constitutions now in force are in strong contrast with the brief Federal Constitution. Many provisions of these constitutions are much more like statutes than like the material found in earlier constitutions.

The making, revising and amending of the constitution is considered much more important than the making and changing of a statute. Some of the early constitutions were made by state legislatures, and some by special conventions; some were submitted to the people for approval, others were not. The usual practice now is for the constitution to be made or revised by a convention of delegates elected by the people and submitted to the people for their approval. This practice is not always followed in foreign countries; the German Constitution of 1919, for instance, was put into effect by executive order without being submitted to the people for ratification.

Amendments, which are less extensive revisions, may be proposed by the legislatures and adopted by popular vote in most states, although many of these states restrict the legislatures in proposing amendments, both as to frequency and matters dealt with. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century about one third of the states have adopted the initiative as one form of proposing amendments.

Powers and work of the state legislature. The state legislature, as the representative of the people, has all legislative powers save those which have been taken away by the Federal and state constitutions. Its powers are residual, and not, like those of Congress, enumerated. Some of the most important limitations placed on the legislatures by the state constitutions are those in the bill of rights which forbid interference with such rights as the freedom of speech, the press and religion; those dealing with taxation, indebtedness, and other financial matters; and those restricting or forbidding special legislation.

In spite of the fact that state constitutions now regulate many things formerly left to the legislature, the power of the legislature is still very great. It has, within constitutional limits, the power of taxation, of regulating real and personal property, of defining crimes and providing punishment for each, of making suffrage and election laws, of granting charters to local political units and to private corporations, of regulating working conditions, public health, morals, marriage, education and the professions, and the right of eminent domain.

As state legislation becomes more and more important in the field of economic problems and regulates transportation, mining, manufacturing, agriculture and other businesses more thoroughly, it must display a reasonable amount of business wisdom if its work is to be a success. Four fifths, or more, of the work of the legislature concerns administration of the various units of government, so that

it must know something of the problems of administration if its legislation is to fit the needs of each governing unit.

The power of the legislature is always touching each individual and the most important economical, social and political problems of society. Are its composition, procedure and personnel, and the public opinion which is back of it, efficient enough to enable it to exercise its powers and do its work as it should?

The State Capitol of Massachusetts

The laws made by the state legislature play a bigger part in the life of the individual than those made by any other lawmaking body.

The composition of the state legislature. The state legislature, sometimes called general assembly, legislative assembly or general court is bicameral—that is, composed of two houses—in all states. The upper house, called the senate, had its origin in the colonial council and was formerly supposed to represent the aristocratic classes. Its membership varies from seventeen in Delaware and Nevada to more than fifty in some states; the average is about thirty-five. The senators are elected by popular vote by counties or larger senatorial districts for a term of four

years in about two thirds of the states, three years in one, and two years in the others. Like the United States Senate, the state senate in most states is only partly renewed at each election.

The lower house, usually called the house of representatives but sometimes called assembly, house of delegates or general assembly, is a continuation of the lower house of colonial times. Its membership varies from thirty-five in Delaware to four hundred and twenty-four in New Hampshire; the average is about one hundred and twenty. The representatives are elected by popular vote to represent counties or subdivisions of counties for a term of two years almost everywhere, although a few states have one or four year terms.

The sessions of the legislature are biennial in forty-two states, annual in five states and quadrennial in one. The governor can call special sessions. The length of the regular session is limited in two thirds of the states; the limit is sixty days or less in twenty-five states. A majority of the states pay a per diem compensation, ranging from three to twelve dollars; many pay an annual salary, ranging from two hundred dollars to more than fifteen hundred dollars a year.

The personnel of the legislature is highly varied. There are some men and women of strong native ability and a few with long experience, but there is also much mediocre material. Fewer than half the members on the average have had experience in a previous legislature. While there are usually more farmers and lawyers than members of other occupations, practically all economic groups are represented. The members of the upper house are often more prominent in state affairs than those of the lower, and probably outrank them in native ability as well as in experience.

Procedure in the state legislature. Each house elects

its own officers except where the lieutenant-governor presides in the senate. The presiding officer in the senate and the speaker of the house have very great influence through the fact that each usually appoints the committees of the house over which he presides, assigns bills to committees, and recognizes members during debate. The real power of appointment is generally in the hands of the majority party which dictates to the speaker in the matter of appointments either before or after his election.

Bills were once generally drawn by the individual legislator or by a private group desiring legislation, but some states now have trained persons available to draw bills. Reference bureaus also are of service.

A bill may be introduced by any member, a committee or the other house. Bills for revenue usually must originate in the lower house.

When the bill is introduced it is referred to a committee after its title has been read. The committee may report the bill to the legislature with or without amendments, may recommend that it be passed or rejected; may report it so late in the session that no action can be taken on it; or may not report it at all. If the committee reports unfavorably, the bill is nearly always killed, although either house has power to take the bill from the committee. If the committee reports the bill favorably, it is read and debated. The time allowed each member for debate is limited. If action is favorable, it is engrossed, and read, and is then ready for a final vote. If passed by both houses it is sent to the governor who has power to veto it in all states except North Carolina. If a bill is vetoed the legislature may pass it over the veto, although most states require an extraordinary majority to do this.

Some states require a majority of all members to pass a bill while others require only a majority of a quorum. Some states have provisions designed to give publicity

to a bill; some provide that the way each member votes shall be entered in the record.

The committee system is extremely important. There are so many hundreds or even thousands of bills introduced at each session that it is impossible for the legislature as a whole to examine them, therefore some system of selection is necessary. We have seen that a committee can kill almost any bill by reporting it unfavorably, by reporting it so late that there is not time to secure its passage, or by not reporting it at all. The speaker may use this power of the committee by assigning a bill to a committee whose attitude toward it is the same as his own.

The majority party, to which the speaker belongs, controls the most important committees so that it is extremely difficult for the minority party to get a fair consideration of its bills. The number of committees varies from six or less in each house in one state to fifty or more in others. Some of the most important committees are those on rules, finance, cities, corporations, and the judiciary.

The caucus of the majority party at which the speaker, the chairman of committees, and the attitude toward various bills are agreed on is often the real power which determines what the legislature will do.

Weakness and reform of state legislature. The state legislature is regarded by students of government and the public as one of the most inefficient branches of government. One weakness lies in the lack of responsibility for legislation. If proper legislation is not passed should we blame the senate, the house, the party that may be in control, a legislative committee or certain individual members? Some have suggested a unicameral—of one house—legislature to bring greater responsibility. A unicameral legislature is found in the national governments of Central America and in many of the subdivisions which form some of the national states of Europe.

Too much party politics in electing members, and especially in the work and procedure of the legislature, is another very great weakness. Non-partisan election and proportional representation are being introduced to lessen this evil. The evils which come as a result of a lobby have led some states to limit the lobby by law. A reform of the committee system by having fewer committees and forcing these to give public hearings and report bills early has taken place in some states.

The rush at the close of the session when hundreds of bills—many of them extremely bad—are passed in a few days without opportunity for careful consideration has led some states to require bills to be introduced early in the session, and California has adopted the split session.

One of the greatest weaknesses has been lack of coöperation with the executive and administrative officers in the making of laws which must be administered by those officers. The budget is doing something in many states to remove this weakness so far as financial matters are concerned.

The legislators are frequently unqualified intellectually and morally for the duties which they must perform. Reform in personnel will come when we have a public opinion which will demand that only capable persons be sent to the legislature, supplemented by a greater willingness on the part of capable persons to serve.

The effort to change many old rules that have outlived their usefulness has proved extremely difficult.

The governor. Although we think of the governor primarily as an executive and administrative officer, his influence in the realm of lawmaking is very great. Legally his power is largely negative. Such is his power of veto. The time element, too, which he can bring in by refusing to return the bill to the legislature immediately, is very important, especially as many bills are passed just before

adjournment, and there is no opportunity to pass them over the veto.

On the positive side: The governor's power to communicate with the legislature and call special sessions, the power to declare martial law and the power in some states to prepare the budget are important. Even more important is the influence he exerts as party leader. As party leader his voice commonly carries tremendous weight if his party is in control of the legislature. He is in a position to secure public scrutiny quickly and help get what he desires by use of public opinion. His power to dispense patronage is considerable and enables him, if so inclined, to secure votes for the measures he champions.

Local lawmaking. Some of the local units of government have, within limits established by state law, important legislative powers, and enact regulations, by-laws, or ordinances. The county board, which makes county laws, has the power in many states to levy taxes, make appropriations and loans, provide for schools, highways, hospitals and other public buildings, make health regulations and fix salaries of some county officers. The county in New England has practically no legislative power.

The village or borough council, also, has power to tax, appropriate and issue ordinances. The New England town, either in the town meeting or through its officers, has practically all legislative power possessed in other sections by both county and village. The township in a few states is an important unit and exercises many legislative powers usually exercised by the county but it does not exist at all in many states, and in others it has no real significance.

The lawmaking power of the city is conferred and limited by its charter. The city usually has power to levy high taxes, borrow money, make large appropriations, and charter public utilities, as well as deal with fire and police protection, public health, city planning and other things.

City ordinances may be made by the council, by the council and mayor, by a commission, by departments, or by direct vote of the people.

The mayor-council form of government is still preserved in most of the large cities and in a majority of the smaller ones. Until the second quarter of the nineteenth century the council exercised both legislative and administrative control, but the council has lost practically all its administrative power and confines its activity principally to legislation. This is in strong contrast to the leading countries of western Europe, where the council is, and for generations has been, the real administrative, as well as legislative, power.

The council had lost some power by 1850, but the principal period of decline was the second half, and especially the last twenty-five years, of the nineteenth century. One great cause of the loss of power was the gross inefficiency of most of the councils. Another cause was the example of division of powers in the Federal and state governments.

The council now is usually composed of one house, but a generation ago councils of two houses were common. The size varies from six or seven members to fifty or more. The tendency is toward a smaller council. In the large cities the members are usually elected by wards; in the small cities they are usually elected at large. The term is commonly one, two, or three years. Compensation is generally by salary in the larger cities and by fee in the smaller ones. Meetings are ordinarily weekly or bi-weekly.

Committees, named by the presiding officer, attend to a large portion of the work of the council, but the council pays far less attention to the recommendations of its committees than is true of Congress or state legislatures.

The special corporations formed by the union of districts for such purposes as education, sanitation, drainage, or fire protection can levy taxes, make appropriations, issue

bonds, and make regulations which all living in the district must obey.

The people. The people from colonial times have exercised direct control in some matters. The location of public buildings, permission to sell intoxicating liquor, adoption of amendments to constitutions, and some other things were frequently decided by popular vote. The modern movement, however, of permitting the people a voice in making or annulling ordinary legislative statutes commenced in 1898 when South Dakota adopted the initiative and referendum.

By the initiative a certain number of the voters—from five to ten per cent usually—may propose a measure which will become a law when approved by the requisite majority of voters.

There are two forms of the referendum: the voluntary and the obligatory. In the former, the legislature, or council, voluntarily submits a measure it has passed to the people before it becomes a law; in the latter, the legislative body is compelled to submit the measure. In either case the measure does not become a law if it is rejected by the voters.

The initiative and referendum are in operation in nearly half the states and in a large number of cities. Most of the states which have adopted these direct measures are west of the Mississippi, but we find them as far east as Massachusetts. Oregon has made greatest use of them.

It is not expected that direct legislation will be used in making more than a small percentage of the laws, but the very fact that it exists may greatly influence the action of the representative bodies for better or for worse. So far it has produced no decided change in the quantity or the quality of the laws.

Bewildering complexity. Beside the agencies discussed in this chapter there are many state-wide quasi-legislative

boards or commissions such as the board of education or board of health, whose regulations must be obeyed. The judiciary by passing on the constitutionality and interpreting the meaning of laws has much to do with determining just what the law of the state is. There is, too, the Federal law. Is our system of lawmaking bewildering in its complexity?

Questions on the Text

1. Criticize the expanding legislation of the state.
2. How did the common law originate?
3. Compare the first constitutions with those adopted recently.
4. Enumerate many subjects dealt with by the state legislature.
5. Compare the upper and lower house.
6. How does a political party make use of the committee system?
7. Which weaknesses of the legislature mentioned in this chapter do you think most important?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Study the Constitution of your State.
2. Criticize one reform which is being urged for your State Legislature.
3. Consult your State senator and State representative concerning the work of the Legislature of your State.
4. *Resolved:* That our State Legislature should be composed of one house.
5. Should some of our lawmakers be elected by special economic or social groups? Define gerrymander.
6. Why have city councils of American cities lost so much power, and the councils of European cities retained theirs?
7. What are the arguments for and against the initiative and referendum?
8. *Resolved:* That there is too much legislation.

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State Manual of your State.

CHAPTER XXII

FEDERAL LAW AND LAWMAKING

THE PROBLEM: Since the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, a thorough understanding of it is essential. Are the lawmakers created by the Constitution working efficiently toward the promotion of the general welfare? Are the political parties, lobbies and other forces not created by the Constitution coöperating for better Federal laws? What can you and I do to help secure such laws?

The origin of the Constitution. The Magna Charta had made the people of England familiar with the idea of a written instrument of government long before Columbus discovered America. The Petition of Right, The Bill of Rights, and other documents originating or in force at the time the colonists were coming to America made them familiar with written guarantees of government.

The colonial charters contained provisions concerning the frame of government, granted powers to the government, and guaranteed the rights and privileges of Englishmen to the colonists. The agreement entered into by the New England Confederation, the unrealized plans for colonial union, and especially the Articles of Confederation were stepping-stones leading the colonists toward a more permanent union. The deplorable condition of affairs existing under the Articles of Confederation was the immediate cause of the assembling of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and the formation of the Constitution in spite of the wide difference of opinion on the part of its members.

The Constitution had so many enemies that it was almost impossible to get it adopted in some of the states.

The content of the Constitution. The Constitution is

so well organized and concise that the most helpful study of its content must be made from its text. It is so important, yet so brief, that every citizen old enough to comprehend it should be familiar with it. It, the laws made in pursuance of it, and the treaties of the United States, are the supreme law of the land. It contains a framework of government, indicates the method of selecting and the powers of each branch, puts limitations on the Federal Government and on the states, and provides for amending itself.

Since its adoption the Constitution has undergone great expansion by interpretation and amendment. The first ten amendments are spoken of as a bill of rights. Amendments Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen were meant to guarantee the negro freedom, citizenship and the suffrage, although the Fourteenth is often used by the courts in declaring a state law dealing with social and economic problems unconstitutional. The Sixteenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments extend the Federal law to things formerly reserved to the states.

The value of the Constitution. The great mass of the American people have almost worshipped the Constitution throughout most of its history. Some very bitter things have been thought and said about many of those who made, interpreted, or administered the laws made in pursuance of it, but the Constitution itself has been the great political shrine before which the people have done reverence. It is a wonderful document which has been of inestimable value; the student of political history sees a thousand pitfalls from which it has doubtless saved us.

It gives stability to the Federal Government. It represents the sober judgment of thoughtful citizens with time to consider carefully and discuss its provisions; there was not the political party passion or approach to mob rule in the Constitutional Convention which sometimes charac-

terizes legislative assemblies. The individual citizen feels a sense of security from state and Federal tyranny which many would not feel were the Constitution abolished. The same is true of business interests. An element of time is more apt to intervene between the beginning and the end of a movement to change the Constitution than is the case with ordinary changes in statutory law, and this gives more time to weigh carefully the proposed change.

This suggests one danger: that the Constitution may become too rigid and not change as rapidly as changing conditions warrant; it is looked upon by some as a kind of fetish that must not be changed in any way.

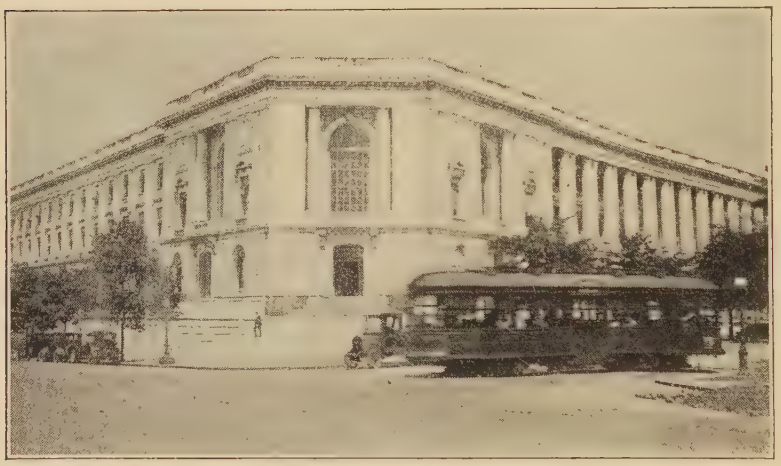
The Constitution has done much to arouse and keep alive the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to America in both native-born and foreign-born citizens.

Powers and work of Congress. In Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution more than a score of distinct powers are given Congress, and the section closes with the statement that Congress shall have power "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or office thereof." The loose constructionists believe this "elastic" clause gives Congress a much wider range of power than it would otherwise have. Other sections of the Constitution confer important powers on Congress, as that of making regulations for the territory and other property of the United States, of taking an important part in making amendments, and of providing for the enforcement of prohibition.

In many matters Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, as in the coinage of money, but much of its power is concurrent with state power, as in the enforcement of prohibition. In most things its power is permissive, but in a few, as the making of provisions for the census, it is mandatory.

In establishing departments and commissions and assigning to each its duties, Congress exercises a tremendous power. As the social and economic problems become more important, this power becomes more significant.

There are some important specific limitations on the lawmaking power of Congress, including the bill of rights, the Presidential veto, and the prohibition of export duty.



THE SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

An immense amount of work is necessary to enable members of Congress to legislate effectively. Many facts have to be gathered and interpreted.

The work of Congress is extremely varied. Thousands of economic, social and political questions must be dealt with. A very large percentage of its laws deal with administrative machinery, so that there is great need for it to keep in close touch with the administrative officers and know something of the problems of administration. In handling such economic problems as those connected with commerce and natural resources, there is needed the greatest possible wisdom along economic and business lines. A very large percentage of the bills are specific and not general. Thousands of bills are introduced at each session, so that

the amount of work it is expected to do is very great. Is Congress so organized as to be able to do this work efficiently?

Composition of Congress. The Constitutional Convention decided on a legislature of two houses partly because of the example of the English Parliament, the experience of the colonies, and the state constitutions; partly because it would enable each house to be a check on the other; and partly because this plan enabled the small states to have equal representation in the Senate with the larger ones. Equal representation in the Senate, which permits Nevada with less than one hundred thousand inhabitants to have as much representation as New York with more than ten million people, has often been attacked as unfair, and even likened to the "rotten borough" condition existing in England in the eighteenth century. The equal representation does much to strengthen the state as a political unit, and those who wish a strong state government and state consciousness appreciate this fact.

The House of Representatives now has four hundred and thirty-five members and the Senate ninety-six. The members of the House are elected by districts, while the Senators are elected at large.

The fact that members elected in November do not take their seats in a regular session until the opening of Congress thirteen months later has been severely criticized, and justly so. The situation does not permit the Congressman-elect to vote immediately on the issues which are before the people when he is elected. It also has a bad effect on any Congressman who has not been reëlected, for he must go through the short session after defeat.

The annual salary of Senators and Congressmen was raised from $7,500 to $10,000 in 1925. They also receive mileage to and from Washington, money for a secretary and stationery, and enjoy the franking privilege.

Procedure in Congress. When a new Congress meets, the House of Representatives is called to order by the Clerk of the previous House. The members-elect take the oath of office and elect the Speaker and other officers. The Speaker is still a very important officer, in spite of the fact that his power to appoint committees was taken away in 1910. His power to recognize members in debate and to assign bills to committees gives him opportunity to recognize members who agree with him and to send bills to a committee which feels toward them as he does.

As only a third of the membership of the Senate is renewed at each Congress, a complete reorganization is not necessary.

The committee system plays an enormous part in legislation. The entire membership of neither the House nor the Senate could examine the thousands of bills presented, so each house is divided into committees and each committee normally examines the bills which deal with a certain group of subjects. Every bill introduced is assigned to a committee and the committee may report it favorably or unfavorably, amend it, return it too late for action, or even neglect to return it at all. The power of each house to compel a committee to report a bill is seldom exercised. When a bill is reported unfavorably it is usually dropped.

There are about sixty permanent committees in the House and thirty in the Senate. Some of the most important committees in each house are those on rules, banking and currency, appropriations, military affairs, the judiciary, civil service and foreign affairs. The committees of each house are elected by that house and vary in size from approximately three to thirty members.

Any member of either house may introduce as many bills as he wishes by leaving them at the desk of the Clerk, or presiding officer. The bills are read by title and assigned to the appropriate committees. If the bill is reported

favorably it is read in full and placed on one of the Calendars to await its turn for consideration unless it is called up earlier, as is often done with important bills. When it comes up for consideration it is debated, and a vote is taken to see if it shall be advanced to the third reading. If so advanced, the third reading is usually by title only. The measure is then ready for a final vote.

Each member of the House can speak only one hour on any measure; in the Senate the time any member might speak was unlimited before the closure of 1917 and is practically unlimited now. Vote is often by sound of voices but may be by the members standing, or by the members passing between tellers, or by a roll call.

Much business is transacted in the committee of the whole. Sometimes an important item that could not be passed as a single bill is passed by means of the rider. Joint resolutions have the same force as ordinary legislation, but the President has the same power of vetoing them as he has of vetoing ordinary legislation.

Political parties, lobbies and personnel. What Congress does or does not do is determined very largely by the will of the party which has a majority in Congress. The members are usually chosen by party vote, and much of the most important legislation consists of administration measures and is passed by party vote. The Speaker, the majority of the members of each committee, and the party attitude toward many measures are decided on in the caucus of the party which controls Congress. On the other hand, the minority party may oppose good measures because it does not wish its rival to get credit for a successful Congress. Party platforms and party promises have to be considered.

Many private interests, such as the railroads, advocates of high tariff, labor unions, Anti-Saloon League and woman suffrage advocates have had a *lobby* at Washington; that is, one or more persons to influence the officials

of the Government in the making, repealing, interpreting or enforcing of the law. Lobbying has been extremely important and many lobbyists have spent large sums to influence the members of Congress. Some lobbyists have been actuated by the highest motives and have been helpful; others have been willing to use any methods to gain selfish ends.

The Senators are, as a rule, persons of more ability, political experience and influence than the Congressmen. The longer term, the greater influence in appointments, and the smaller size of the Senate have made political leaders consider membership in it more desirable than membership in the House. A wide variety of occupations is represented, but more than half the members of Congress are lawyers. A few women have been elected recently.

The tremendous power wielded by Congress, the intricacy of many of the problems dealt with, the party pressure often brought to bear to force a member into line at the sacrifice of what he believes is best, the eagerness with which some private interest will take advantage of any intellectual error or moral lapse of a member, make it very urgent that the personnel of both houses be of a high order. At present a few influential political leaders by making use of party loyalty, patronage, the committee system, and by bringing pressure to bear from many sources, are able to control to a considerable extent.

The President. The power and influence of the President in lawmaking are great. His veto power is largely negative but his power to send messages to Congress and call special sessions is positive, and sometimes very influential. This is especially true as the special session is apt to be called at the time of serious foreign complications or domestic troubles. His power over patronage enables him to bring much pressure to bear on the individual

Senator or Congressman. He can quickly focus the attention of the country on an issue and in this way bring public opinion to bear. His part in the preparation of the budget may influence appropriations greatly.

Probably his greatest influence comes as party leader. As we have no prime minister or other official primarily responsible for a legislative program the country looks to the President as administration and party leader, and he often receives much of the credit or blame for the acts of Congress. He is in constant communication with the leaders of his party in Congress and has an influential voice in forming the party legislative program. The power of the President with respect to ordinances issued in connection with the administrative departments is important. His power to declare martial law is not often exercised, but in times of disorder and danger is very significant.

Possibilities and responsibilities of the individual. Is the individual lost and helpless in so large a country and under so strong a government? What should he do? He should know the machinery of lawmaking well enough to be able to follow its workings. He should know something of current problems so that he can form an intelligent opinion of the work of each official. He should scrutinize the work of the Government as well as circumstances permit. He should be careful to help nominate and elect officials of intelligence and moral courage. He should follow carefully the work of the Senators from his state and the Congressman from his district, and let it be known that he will support them whenever they act for the welfare of the country, but will not support them when they are playing politics. He should respect the laws made by Congress to the extent of obeying them, and should use his influence to get others to obey them. He should put the welfare of America first and refuse to sacrifice this for any political party or other group.

Questions on the Text, Including Article I of the Constitution

1. Name the things which prepared the way for the Constitution.
2. Discuss the content of the Constitution.
3. What is the value of the Constitution?
4. What is the substance of the elastic clause?
5. Criticize the composition of Congress.
6. Discuss the committee system.
7. Trace the progress of a bill through Congress.
8. How do political parties affect the work of Congress?
9. Define lobby.
10. How does the President influence legislation?
11. What should the individual do?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Make a careful and detailed study of the text of the Constitution.
2. Compare the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
3. *Resolved:* That we should provide for the amendment of the Constitution by a nation-wide popular vote.
4. Enumerate the legislative powers of Congress. The executive and administrative powers. The judicial powers. Other powers.
5. Name and give the party affiliation of your State's representatives in Congress.
6. Compare Congress with the lawmaking body of some foreign country.
7. Do the committees, by law or in practice, have too much power?
8. Define: The Calendars; rider; filibuster; Senatorial courtesy; log-rolling; franking privilege; committee of the whole; bill; counting a quorum; pork barrel; executive session.
9. Should our Federal legislative and executive departments be more closely united?
10. What Congressional reforms, if any, do you favor?
11. Which of the recommendations in the President's last annual message to Congress were followed?

12. What powerful interests are trying to control members of Congress at present?

13. List in parallel columns your possibilities and your responsibilities with respect to Federal law and lawmaking.

14. *Resolved:* That the members of Congress should take office within two months after their election.

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CHAPTER XXIII

LOCAL EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATION

THE PROBLEM: Function, organization and efficiency are very important in the executive and administrative work of each local unit of government. As you study these, list the qualities that are most valuable in executive and administrative work.

Powers and work of the county. The county is most important in the South and Far West. It is fairly important in the Middle West and the Middle Atlantic states. It is least important in New England where its function is primarily judicial. Outside New England its function is primarily administrative.

In the South and Far West some of its most important administrative functions are to assess and collect taxes, fix salaries, keep county records, make contracts, build highways, preserve peace, administer jails and workhouses, build public buildings, superintend elections, supervise education and enforce regulations concerning the public health. In many of the states of the Middle West and North the township exercises many of these functions, and the county does little beside equalizing taxes among the townships, and administering highways, schools and poor-relief.

Organization of county government. In forty-six states each county has a county board which is usually called a board of commissioners or supervisors. The number of members varies from three to thirty or more. They are usually elected by popular vote either by districts or at large, for terms ranging from one to six years. This board exercises the chief executive as well as legislative authority of the county. Some of its most important administrative

functions are apportioning expenditures, appointing a few officers, and exercising general authority over elections, prisons, poor-relief and public property.

The other officers usually provided for in the states where the county is an important unit of government are the sheriff, who preserves order, arrests offenders and executes the orders of the court; the clerk, who keeps the county records; the treasurer, who keeps the county money; the coroner who investigates accidental deaths and those in which foul play is suspected; the health commissioner, who directs the health work and sometimes treats paupers; and the superintendent of schools, who directs the educational work in the public schools. An auditor who examines the books of all other officers is present in one third of the states. These officers are usually elected by popular vote for short terms. There are special boards such as the board of health and board of education with considerable authority.

Efficiency in county administration. The affairs of the county have not usually been administered efficiently. County government has been somewhat more efficient than city government, but there has been little reform in the county while great reforms have been taking place in the city during the last generation or two.

The greatest cause of inefficiency is too little centralization of authority. The county board has its authority and field of activity; each elective officer has his authority and field of activity, and is primarily responsible to the people. There is generally no effective supervision or control of the elective officers, no convenient way to decide who is inefficient and who efficient, and no convenient way to get rid of the inefficient. The efficient and inefficient serve out their respective terms and even when time comes for reëlection the people do not know who have done their work well. There are too many elective officers. It is more

difficult for the people to vote intelligently when there are many candidates. There is little reason to believe there is close connection between the ability to get votes and the ability to do the work of clerk or treasurer acceptably. Too often the officer knows the retention of his office will not depend on efficient service.

There has been lack of proper adjustment and union of offices. Some officers have little to do much of the time and one person could do the work now done by two. The county board is too large in most counties to do effective work. A large board cannot give the effective supervision that a small board can. Much of the work of the large board is done through committees and it is very difficult for the voter to fix responsibility for anything.

There is considerable waste because each department or officer purchases supplies separately, considerable waste or theft because of poorly planned and poorly kept records, many inefficient workers because of the spoils system, and much inefficiency because of old equipment.

It would seem that in organizing the government of the county a county manager should be provided for with power to appoint and dismiss all county employees, except the county board, the auditor, and the judicial and educational officers. In those counties where the administrative work is not great the manager could also do the work done by some other officer. Some states permit counties to use the county manager plan of government but so far no county has adopted it. The county manager should be appointed by the county board for an indefinite term and be removable by the board at any time. The county manager should be a non-partisan officer, and the board should be free to employ a resident of another county or state.

The county board should be small; probably three or five members elected at large would be best. Perhaps the members of the board should be subject to recall. Centralized

purchasing, a budget system, closer state supervision of finances, better equipment, and the introduction of civil service would contribute much to the efficiency of county government.

If the county is almost wholly urban, greater efficiency might be secured by uniting county and city governments.

The village or borough. The village, or borough, may collect taxes, borrow money, apportion expenditures, make local improvements, provide protection from fire, and preserve order. In only a few states is there a village meeting similar to the New England town meeting. The administrative work of the village is usually done by a board or council elected by popular vote, and a few officers, of whom the clerk, treasurer, and chief of police are among the most important.

The community is usually small enough for most of the voters to know the candidate, the work to be done is not extensive, and inefficiency or corruption is hard to hide. The village has been governed more efficiently than county or city.

The New England town. The town is the only unit of local government in New England, except the city, with important executive and administrative powers. The state uses it very largely to administer state law in such matters as the assessment and collection of taxes; enforcing police regulations, health laws, school laws and poor laws; collecting and reporting vital statistics; and conducting elections. The town is also an important unit of administration in matters which are primarily of local interest, such as enforcing local ordinances, setting of salaries, employment of officers, building and repairing streets, building and caring for public buildings, libraries, parks and, in some towns, water and lighting systems.

The town meeting, a gathering of all qualified voters, is the highest authority in the town. It decides such im-

portant matters as the borrowing of money, the division of expenditures, the laying out of new streets, the construction of public buildings and the providing of recreative facilities. There is usually an annual meeting and as many special meetings as the selectmen think it wise to call. A warrant is posted some days before the meeting, informing the voters of the nature of the business to be considered. The attendance is habitually small unless there is a matter of special interest to be decided. A matter of great local interest will cause a large attendance and, if the voters are divided on the issue, a heated argument.

In many towns there is an advisory committee, existing throughout the year, which makes recommendations at the town meeting concerning most of the items of business. The recommendations of the advisory committee are usually followed without debate. The efficiency of the town meeting has been decreased throughout most of New England by the coming of large numbers of immigrants.

The chief officers of the town are the selectmen, usually three, five or seven in number, chosen by popular vote for short terms. They have charge of public property, appoint some officers and have general oversight of the work of the town. Other officers are the clerk, assessors, treasurer, auditor, school committee, board of health, cemetery trustees, and police.

The township. The Congressional townships established by the National Government when it surveyed the Middle West and West have no governmental function.

The civil township, existing in the northern states from New York to Nebraska, is a unit of government which varies in importance in different states. In many states its work is far less important than that of the county, but in others it performs more of the local functions of government than the town.

In some of the townships there is a town meeting to

elect officers and to make decisions concerning finances and public improvements, but in none of the other states is the town meeting so important as in New England. Whether there is a town meeting or not, there is either a committee or a supervisor who has general oversight of the work of the township. There is frequently a clerk, treasurer, and a peace officer. In some states the townships are electoral districts for the county boards.

Function of the city. Cities vary greatly in the amount of power they possess. Many make their own charters and are free to go their way with very little interference from the state, while the activity of others is much more minutely regulated by state law.

The city is an important unit of administration for state law, but the greater part of its activity is concerned with things which are primarily of local interest, such as portals, transportation, franchises, city planning, health, water supply, wastes, poor-relief, recreation and fire protection. Municipal ownership and operation exist to a much greater extent in some cities than in others. In many things, as in police protection, health and education, the administration of both state law and local ordinances is important. Most of the work of the city partakes more of the nature of business than of political activity. In the larger cities, the amount and variety of work is enormous.

In 1790 there were in the United States only 5 cities with a population of 8,000 or more. These cities contained 3.1 per cent of our population. In 1920 there were 924 such cities containing 43.8 per cent of our population. This rapid development of cities, brought about largely by the industrial development, increased transportation facilities and improved methods of agriculture, has raised problems of tremendous significance.

The ever-increasing complexity of modern civilization and the increasing knowledge of the nature of contagious

diseases have brought home to us the seriousness of the problem of the modern city. The solution of this problem has been rendered much more difficult by the people from many lands who have flocked to our cities from across the waters.

The mayor. There is a mayor in almost all the larger cities and in a majority of the smaller ones. In the colonial period he was present in every American borough, appointed, usually, by the colonial governor.

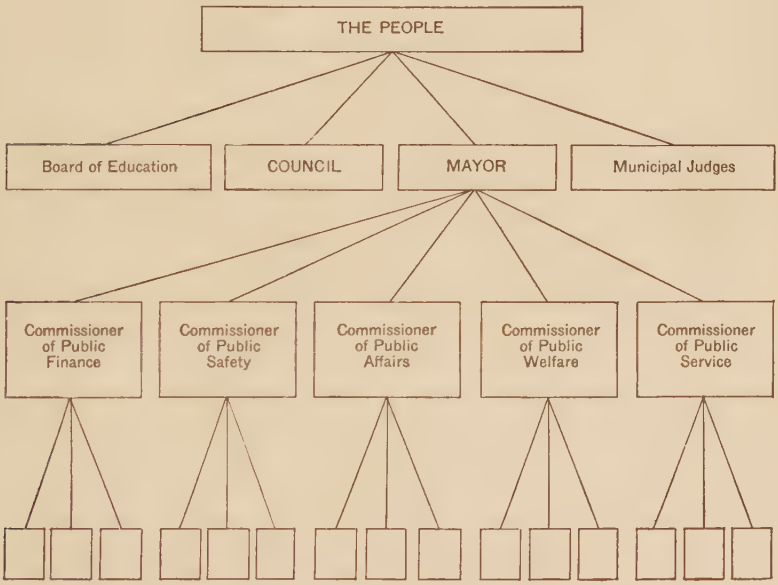
He is now nominated by primary, convention, or petition, and is elected by popular vote for a term which rarely exceeds four years, and is often as short as two years. The present tendency is toward the longer term. In a few cities he is elected by preferential ballot and is sometimes subject to recall.

Until the second third of the nineteenth century his power was scarcely more than that of any other member of the council, but he was made an independent branch of the government, and gained power rapidly during the century. He is now a powerful official. His right to appoint members of committees is of some importance, but his right to appoint administrative officers, usually with consent of the council, is a much more important power. His power of appointment is increasing. His power of removal is increasing, but the consent of the council is often required.

The mayor's power of preparing the budget is also increasing, but this work is still done by a committee of the council in the majority of cities. He has some power of supervision of the departments. He has a conditional veto over the acts of the council in most of the cities, and in one city an absolute veto. He sometimes has the right to pardon those who violate city ordinances. As party leader and dispenser of patronage his influence is frequently very great.

Some cities, including Pittsburgh, Detroit and Boston, have reorganized their governments so as to make the mayor responsible for most of the administrative work. The temptations of the mayor in a large city are exceedingly great and a person of exceptionally strong character is needed.

REORGANIZED MAYOR-COUNCIL GOVERNMENT



In many commission-governed cities one of the commissioners has the title of mayor. He represents the city at ceremonial functions, but usually has no more power than the other commissioners. In a few cities, however, he has the right to veto the acts of the commission and in a few others the right to appoint administrative officers. The mayor is sometimes selected by the commission from its own members, but more often is selected by popular vote for the position of mayor.

Commission government in cities. In 1901 Galveston established commission government to meet the very difficult problems caused by the tidal wave the year before when a third of the city was destroyed and thousands of lives lost. Several Southern cities had tried a form of government which was essentially commission government before the Galveston experiment, but these had gone back to their old systems without attracting much attention.

The Galveston experiment was a great success, its success was discussed widely, and city after city adopted a similar plan. Forty-four states now permit their cities to have commission government, and some five hundred cities are governed by commission, including such large ones as Buffalo, Newark, New Orleans and Spokane. Very few cities have adopted this form of government since 1914.

The usual plan is to give five commissioners, elected at large by popular vote on a non-partisan basis, the legislative and executive power of the city government. A civil service commission sometimes limits the appointment and dismissal power.

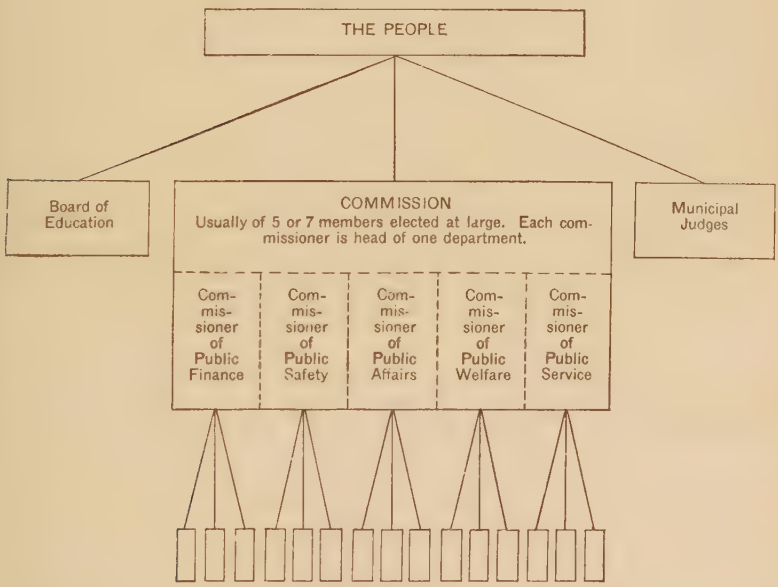
The administrative work of the city is divided into five departments, and each department is under the direct supervision and control of one commissioner. In some cities there are three, in others five or seven departments. An independent board of education, elected by the people, is generally provided. The judiciary, too, is free from the control of the commission.

When Des Moines in 1907 adopted the commission form of government she included the initiative, referendum, and recall. Most cities with a commission government have followed the example of Des Moines. In most cities one of the commissioners represents the city on ceremonial occasions, but beyond this usually has no more power than the other commissioners.

The advantages of the commission as compared with the

mayor-council form of government are: It enables the voters to fix responsibility to a greater extent: there is no other group on which the commission can lay the blame for errors or fraud. Machine politicians find it more difficult to control the city administration. It tends to divorce city administration from state and national politics. With

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT IN CITIES


THE PEOPLE
Board of Education
COMMISSION
Usually of 5 or 7 members elected at large. Each commissioner is head of one department.
Municipal Judges
Commissioner of Public Finance
Commissioner of Public Safety
Commissioner of Public Affairs
Commissioner of Public Welfare
Commissioner of Public Service

fewer officers to elect the voter finds it easier to know each candidate. The commission makes it easier to get things done in a business-like way. There is more harmony in the actual working of the government. The taxing and spending power are united.

The chief disadvantages are: Many people feel that they are not so thoroughly represented as under the mayor-council plan. A commissioner often has supervision over a department when he knows little about the work that de-

partment must do. Some think it makes it easier for a few rich, influential persons to control the city. Although the harmony is greater than with the mayor-council type, there is sometimes bitter feeling or log-rolling between the commissioners as each tries to get money for, or independence in controlling, his department. The division of administrative control which still exists seems to be the greatest defect of the commission government, but this form of government has probably been more efficient than the old mayor-council type, and few commission cities have returned to the latter form.

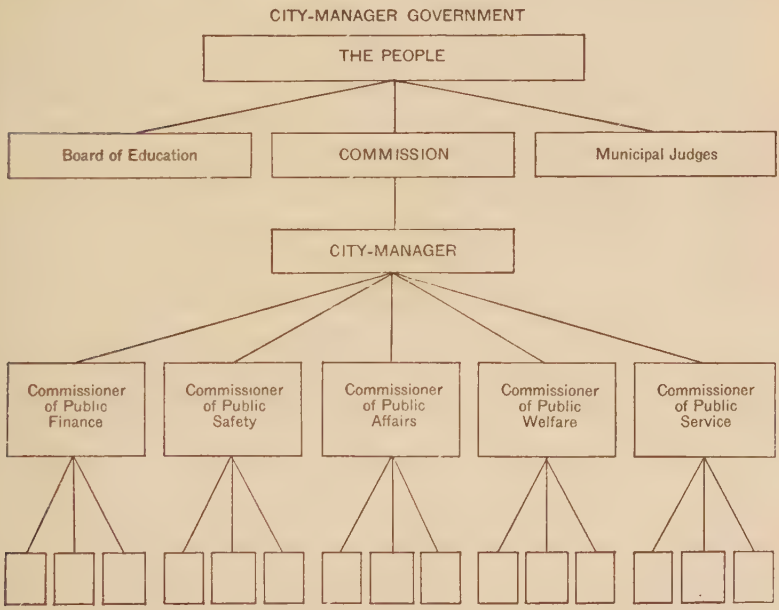
The city manager. To those who appreciate the evils of divided administrative control in the commission government, the city-manager plan makes an attractive appeal. Under this plan the members of the commission give only a part of their time to the work of the city, receive a small salary, and continue to exercise the legislative power. The people usually have the right to recall the commissioners, and the initiative and referendum are usually present.

The city-manager, chosen by the commission for an indefinite term, and dismissed by it at any time, has charge of the administrative work. He employs and dismisses the heads of departments and some other employees, subject to possible civil service regulation, supervises the work of the departments, makes contracts, keeps the commission informed of the work being done, makes out the budget, and sees that all ordinances are enforced. The manager is usually bound by certain regulations, as that requiring open competition for contracts.

The commission is generally free to get a manager from any part of the country and to pay him a good salary. The schools, courts, and sometimes the police department are placed beyond the control of the manager. A manager may be, but seldom is, found in cities which still have the mayor-council government.

Staunton, Virginia, in 1908 was the first city to employ a city-manager, but Sumter, South Carolina, in 1912 was the first to have a commission and city-manager. Dayton, Ohio, in 1913 was the first large city to have a city-manager. The success of the plan in Dayton did much to advertise it, and other large cities have tried it.

Cleveland, which put the plan in operation in 1924, is the fifth largest city in the United States, and its success



there commends it to even our largest cities. In Cleveland the commission, or council, consists of twenty-five members elected from large districts by proportional representation. The city-manager plan has spread rather rapidly and today about three hundred cities and villages, in thirty-seven states, have this form of government. It was adopted by Cincinnati in 1926.

In addition to the unity and harmony existing under the

city-manager plan, it places responsibility on one person in such a way that he must accept praise or blame for the results, and tends to lessen the influence of corrupt political control. It has opened a new profession in which a person's success depends more on efficient business management than on playing politics, and many of our most influential managers have won promotion from smaller cities.

The manager plan is similar to the organization which exists in the management of the large corporations. The similarity of the city's administrative work and the work of the large business units gives ground for hope that the work of the city will be done efficiently by the type of organization which has often worked efficiently in business corporations. The manager plan permits a division into any number of departments and does not arbitrarily limit the number of departments to the number of commissioners, as under the commission form.

In a few cities the attempt by the commission to interfere with the administrative work has caused the plan to work poorly. In some cases local politics has crept in to prevent success. In other cases the commission has been unfortunate in the choice of a manager. In a few cases public sentiment or law has required that a local man be chosen. The question is sometimes raised as to whether the manager, with his striving for economy, his desire to retain his position by pleasing the commission, and his desire to shun participation in politics, can give the city the constructive political leadership which it should have.

The city-manager plan seems to be producing more efficient results than any other form of city government in America.

Efficiency in city administration. There has been a great deal of improvement in the efficiency of city government during the last generation. This improvement probably owes more to the awakening of civic interest than to

any change in the organization of government. No government will be very efficient permanently unless it is supported by an intelligent public opinion. Non-partisan elections, especially if held at a different time from state and national elections, tend to weaken the influence of corrupt politicians and secure better officials.

The reorganization of the administrative departments is receiving much attention. The tendency at present is to reduce the number of departments to five or six in the smaller cities, and to ten or a dozen in the larger ones. There is a tendency also to place a single commissioner at the head of the departments that require definite and quick action, such as the fire and police departments, and to leave a board in control of the departments requiring much deliberation, as education. It was found that even when the boards were non-partisan or bi-partisan there were frequent costly delays. In the larger cities the departments are divided into bureaus, the bureaus into divisions, and the divisions into sections.

There has been considerable improvement in the method of securing employees. In many cities the spoils system was important before it received the impetus given by Andrew Jackson, and it flourished throughout the nineteenth century. It is still responsible for much of the inefficiency in city administration, but three hundred cities now have civil service selection. Sometimes there is a state civil service commission which acts for all the cities in the state, as in Massachusetts; sometimes there is both a local and a state commission, as in New York; but in most states the civil service commission is appointed and removed by the municipal government.

Some cities have increased the efficiency of their employees in certain departments by establishing schools for them. Some students of government think the city should establish schools to train for public service those who

desire to enter its employ. The efficiency of municipal administration has been increased by the budget system.

Special districts. It sometimes happens that a work needs to be done which none of the units described in this chapter are in a position to do effectively. A district needs draining, irrigating, better sanitation, fire protection, a high school, or something else. When the boundary of such a district does not coincide with that of any local unit, the state may permit it to organize to achieve the desired end.

The government, which generally consists of a small commission elected by popular vote for short terms and serving without compensation, has power to collect taxes and make and enforce needful regulations. These special districts usually lie wholly within a county. The district may lie wholly within a smaller unit or may include a part of several local units.

One of the most interesting and important of the special units is the Sanitary District of Chicago, organized in 1889. It has spent scores of millions of dollars in turning the course of the Chicago River so that Chicago's waste now flows into the Gulf of Mexico instead of Lake Michigan.

Questions on the Text

1. What is the function of the county in the different sections of the country?
2. How is the county government organized?
3. Suggest remedies for the principal causes of inefficiency in county government.
4. Does the organization of the village or borough government suit the type of work it is expected to do?
5. Compare the village and the New England town.
6. What is the nature of the New England town meeting?
7. To what extent does township government vary in the different states?

8. In what kinds of activity must the city engage?
9. Trace the evolution of the mayor's power.
10. What part does each commissioner have in governing the city. What are the merits and defects of commission governments?
11. How is the city-manager chosen? Dismissed? Describe his work.
12. To what may we attribute the improved efficiency of city government?
13. What is the purpose of a special district?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What is the function of your county? Is the organization of its government such as to promote efficiency?
2. Report on county government in colonial times.
3. Make out a program for increasing the efficiency of county government.
4. Should county government be abolished in New England?
5. Criticize village government.
6. What effect does the existence of village governments have on county government?
7. What are the advantages of town government in New England? Disadvantages?
8. Is an advisory committee desirable in a New England town?
9. Should township government be abolished and its functions divided between county and village?
10. What should be considered in deciding for or against municipal ownership in any field?
11. In what way can a corrupt or inefficient mayor hurt the city?
12. Why did commission government spread so rapidly? Why has its progress ceased?
13. What things, in addition to those mentioned in this chapter, do you think have increased, or would increase, the efficiency of city administration?
14. Compare the government of American cities with that of the cities of England, France, Germany, or Italy.
15. Describe some special district.
16. From the standpoint of government, what difference is there between a village and a city?

17. Who are the executive and administrative officers of your local governments?

18. *Resolved:* That the general adoption of county-manager government would increase the efficiency of county government.

19. *Resolved:* That the city-manager plan is the best form of government for the majority of American cities.

20. *Resolved:* That it is as difficult to secure efficient government in a small village as it is to secure it in a large city.

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CHAPTER XXIV

STATE EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATION

THE PROBLEM: Do we usually have in mind the right qualities when we choose a governor? Is the recent reorganization of state executive and administrative machinery getting better results? Are the points made in this chapter generally true of your State government?

Choosing the governor. The governor is now chosen by popular vote in all states. Formerly he was chosen in many states by the state legislature. He is usually nominated by a primary, but sometimes by a convention of delegates elected by party vote in local political divisions. A plurality is usually sufficient to elect but in some states a majority is required. If no candidate secures a majority, the state legislature is empowered in some states to select the governor.

His term is two years in twenty-four states, four years in twenty-three states, and three years in one state. In a few states he cannot serve two consecutive terms. In the event of death, removal, or disability of the governor, the lieutenant-governor usually succeeds, but in some states the head of the senate or of the house succeeds.

In most states the governor may be removed by impeachment, but this is seldom done. The removal of Governor Ferguson of Texas in 1917 and Governor Walton of Oklahoma in 1923 are interesting examples of such removal. About a fourth of the states have the recall, but the recall of Governor Frazier in North Dakota is the only example of the use of this power.

Powers, work and influence of the governor. The colonists had so much trouble with the colonial governors that the first state constitutions gave the governors very

little power at the very time that they permitted the state legislatures to exercise tremendous power. The governor has been gaining more and more power as the people have come to have more confidence in him and less in the legislature. At present he has considerable power in all states, and in some is especially influential. He frequently has some power of supervision over other officials and some power to see that laws are executed. He must preserve order, and may call out the militia, usually at the request of a local officer, and declare martial law. In times of great danger he may suspend the right of habeas corpus in most states.

The state police of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, and a few other states, are a great help in preserving order, and the number of states having such police is increasing. The use made by Massachusetts in 1925 of its police force to raid a vicious section of a city and arrest scores of persons suggests the possibility of extensive use of the state force for local law-enforcement where the local officers are not enforcing the law.

The governor usually has a limited power of appointment, which is frequently shared with the senate, house, executive council or special boards. The power of removal exists in some states, but is usually less extensive than the power of appointment. In many states he is ex-officio member of important administrative boards. Many of the states which have introduced the budget have given him a large part in the making of it. This is wise, as he is in a position to know the needs of the various departments better than any other officer.

The influence of the governor is often far greater than one would judge by reading the state constitution. He is usually looked upon as the leader of the administration and is expected to get results. He is influential in party affairs and can bring party influence to bear. He can

quickly arouse public interest and use public opinion to further a desired end. The annual conference of governors may be made a powerful means of forming public opinion.

In three New England states and in North Carolina there is an executive council to share with the governor some of the powers and responsibilities of the executive.

Composition and organization of administrative machinery. From the beginning of our national history the states have had a group of important administrative officers chosen usually by popular vote, but sometimes by the legislature or the governor. The lieutenant-governor is present in more than two thirds of the states, and usually presides in the senate and succeeds the governor in case of a vacancy. The secretary of state records the official acts of the governor, publishes the state laws and keeps the records and seal. The auditor or comptroller, manages the finances, forces the collection of taxes and prepares estimates of expenditures and revenues for the legislature. The treasurer keeps the funds. The attorney-general represents the state in all legal matters and advises the principal officials. The superintendent of public instruction has general oversight of public education and is one of the most important of officials, although he has existed for less than a century.

In addition to these older officials there has been created in the last generation or two a host of other officials, boards, commissions and institutions, mostly statutory and appointive, to deal with economic, social and political problems. There are more than one hundred of these agencies in some states and the number has been as high as two hundred. The banking commissioner, tax commissioner, insurance commissioner, health commissioner, commissioner of agriculture, commissioner of mines, commissioner of highways and fire marshal are some of the most influential of the statutory officials. Their terms of office

are seldom more than four years, although a few have indefinite terms.

Some of the most important boards or commissions are those which deal with railways, highways, taxation, equalization, health, charities, prisons, education, labor and agriculture. Some are non-partisan, some bi-partisan, and some of a single political party. Many are composed wholly, and many partly, of ex-officio members. In most of the states these boards have been added without serious attempts to reorganize existing agencies and to adjust the new agencies to the older ones.

The states have always had some institutions to assist in the work of administration, but the number and scope of activity of such institutions have increased rapidly in recent years. Some important institutions are prisons; homes and schools for the blind, deaf, and dumb; hospitals and isolation camps for the sick; homes for the poor and the orphan; state universities and normal schools; and manufacturing establishments of various kinds.

Efficiency in administration. The administrative work of the states at present is enormous in amount and extremely varied in character. During the early days of the Republic, administrative work was neither extensive nor very difficult, but as society became more complex and the *laissez-faire* doctrine gave way to state regulation the problems became more and more difficult. Much of the work now is of the nature of an intricate business and must be done according to sound business principles, if done efficiently. Is the administrative machinery of such a nature as to function efficiently?

One serious objection to the machinery in practically all states is that there are too many boards. When a new field of activity was entered by the state, or a new problem arose, the legislature would create a new office, commission, or board to deal with the new situation. Sometimes

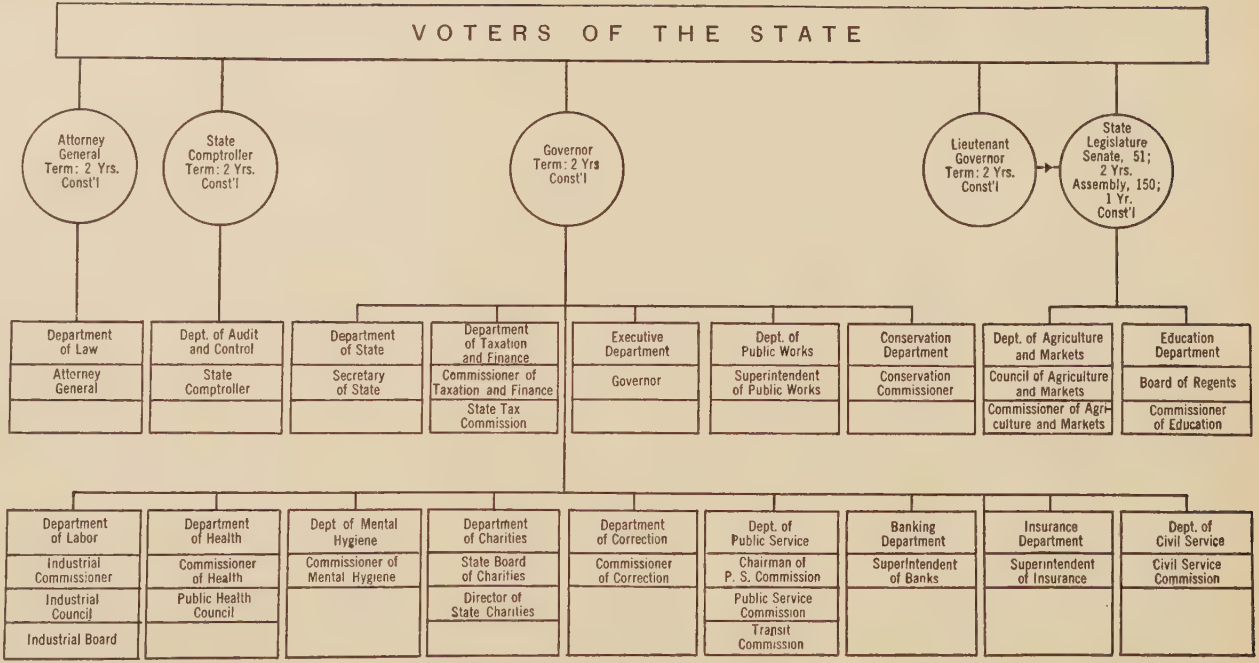
there was real need for the new agencies, sometimes existing agencies could have done the work as well as, or better than, the new ones. Sometimes the new agencies are a sop to reformers, or to create jobs for political adherents.

There is frequently lack of proper adjustment of agencies, and there is much overlapping.

Probably the worst defect is lack of responsibility. The more important officers can usually be removed only by the slow and difficult process of impeachment. Many of the agencies are responsible to no one except the legislature which is in session every year in only five states and only a part of the time in even these five. Even if the administrative official has been guilty of misconduct, it is extremely hard to get the members of his political party in the legislature to admit it by voting to impeach him. In most of the states the governor cannot secure the dismissal of the guilty, as he has little power of appointment and practically no power of removal.

While the President and Vice President are the only Federal executive officers chosen by popular vote, the governor is only one of a number of state officers so chosen. These officers are practically as independent in their fields of activity as the governor is in his field.

About a fourth of the states have attempted to remedy many of the defects of administration by the reorganization of administrative machinery. These states have concentrated most of the administrative agencies in a few departments and have given the governor great authority over them. They have given the governor great powers of appointment and removal and are attempting to hold him accountable for the quality of work done. Illinois, the first state to make a thorough reorganization, established nine great departments: finance, agriculture, labor, public works, mines and minerals, trade and commerce, registration and education, public health, and public welfare. The



Reproduced from A. E. Buck's "Administrative Consolidation in State Governments." Courtesy, National Municipal League

NEW YORK

Organization of the State administration under the reorganization, effective January 1, 1927.

governor, with the consent of the senate, chooses a director for each department. There are some agencies outside the nine departments. This reorganization doubtless produces greater harmony and efficiency if the people are careful to choose the right kind of governor.

The efficiency of administration depends to a considerable extent on the quality of the legislature. It creates much of the administrative machinery, lays out the field of activity of most of the agencies and divides funds among them.

The efficiency of administration is vitally affected by the qualities of the personnel. A very large proportion of state employees are political appointees. Their party affiliation and party activity rather than fitness for the work have enabled them to secure positions. A change of party usually means a change of employees. Even the positions of directors of institutions created to serve defective classes are sometimes the spoils of politics.

The states have been very slow in adopting civil service reform. New York and Massachusetts were the only states to accept civil service reform during the nineteenth century, but one fourth of the states now have civil service commissions. These commissions are usually created by statute, but some are required by the state constitution.

The great and increasing expense of administrative work has made some reform in its financing urgent. The budget system and centralized purchasing are increasing the efficiency of administrative financing. The state governments are more efficient than formerly. This is due to the increased interest of the public even more than to the reorganization of administrative machinery.

Questions on the Text

1. How is the governor chosen?
2. What change has taken place in the powers of the governor since 1789?

3. Why is the governor influential?

4. Name the principal administrative officers, commissions and boards, and indicate the nature of the work of each.

5. Criticize the administrative machinery of the states which have not reorganized.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Why were Governors Ferguson and Walton impeached?

2. Why was your present governor nominated? Why elected?

3. Study the state police of one state.

4. What proportion of the work of administration is primarily business?

5. Make a study of the administrative machinery of a state that has not reorganized. Of a state that has. Does reorganization make for efficiency?

6. To what extent does the spoils system exist in your State?

7. *Resolved:* That every state should have a comprehensive civil service for state employees.

8. How can we improve the personnel of administration?

9. Who are the chief executive and administrative officers of your State?

10. Discuss the part of your State Manual which deals with executive and administrative machinery and activity.

11. *Resolved:* That the Governor should have power to appoint more of our State officers.

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State Manual of your State.

CHAPTER XXV

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATION

THE PROBLEM: To understand the function and form of the executive and administrative branch of the Federal Government, and to see what lessons should be learned from its past and present work.

Choosing the President. The men who framed the Constitution expected the electoral college to consider carefully each person who was suggested for the Presidency and be the real group to choose the President. The political leaders in 1787 did not think the people could be trusted to elect the President by direct popular vote. No provision was made for nominating candidates, or other participation by political parties.

There were no regular party nominations until 1804. The Democratic-Republican Congressional caucus nominated Jefferson that year, and Congressional caucus continued for twenty years to be the method of nominating President and Vice President. From 1824 until 1840 a number of means of nominating were followed, but since 1840 all important nominations have been by national conventions of the political parties.

Each party is apt to nominate some person who is well known to the entire country, but occasionally a "dark horse" is elected, as was true of Polk in 1844. Each party is glad when its candidate is from a doubtful state as he is expected to carry that state. This is one reason why Ohio and New York have given us so many Presidents.

The nomination is commonly followed by a strenuous campaign by each of the leading political parties to elect its candidates. Electors are usually nominated by state conventions or state committees, but since they simply

register the choice of the voters their quality is of no importance. The electors are now elected at large by popular vote in every state, although formerly they were chosen in many states by the state legislatures or by popular vote by districts.

The electoral college has been attacked as undemocratic, because it makes possible the election of a candidate who receives fewer votes than his opponent, as was true when Hayes defeated Tilden in 1876 and Harrison defeated Cleveland in 1888. It also permits political parties or other interested groups to bring tremendous pressure to bear on the voters of the doubtful states. On the other hand, the present system has an advantage over nation-wide direct election in that it prevents those states in which one party is in control of the election machinery from sending in fraudulent returns, thus increasing its majority beyond that which actually exists.

In several elections rival electors have claimed to be the properly qualified ones. So much trouble was caused by the Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876 that Congress passed the Disputed Presidential Elections Act of 1887 to govern the counting of electoral votes.

No President has served more than two terms and there is a feeling among the American people that the President ought not to serve longer than this. There has been some agitation for a six-year term with the provision that the President cannot succeed himself. Congress decided in 1886 that in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice President, the members of the cabinet should succeed to the Presidency in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior.

The President receives a salary of $75,000 a year, and is allowed $25,000 more for expenses. The government

also assumes most of the cost of the upkeep of the White House.

Powers and influence of the President. The President is more powerful than the executive in any of the great European countries, with the possible exception of Russia and Italy. He is an independent unit of government and is not, like the European executives, subordinate to the legislative branch. No tribunal has any power over him,

THE WHITE HOUSE

he cannot be arrested for any offense, and only after he has been removed from office or has resigned can the courts proceed against him. It is difficult for one to appreciate the tremendous importance of the powers granted in the few sentences of sections one and two of Article II of the Constitution. Since 1789 he has gained power by custom, judicial interpretation and the acts of Congress.

As world contacts become more and more numerous with better communication and increasing trade, the President's power to speak for America becomes more significant. What the President says concerning the League of Na-

tions, World Court or other matters of international interest affect public sentiment abroad. The President may take a course of action which will produce war, as the nation in an international crisis is almost sure to support its chief executive. War with Mexico followed President Polk's sending troops into disputed territory, and war came very near following President Cleveland's message to Great Britain concerning Venezuela. His power of recalling our ambassadors or of dismissing the representatives of foreign countries may produce an international crisis. He possesses the power of recognizing a new government abroad, and on him falls the duty of protecting citizens of the United States in foreign lands.

About 15,000 employees are now appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Some of these are authorized by Congress to appoint many of the less important officers so that the influence of the President's appointments is magnified. His opportunity to reward friends or to build up a personal following for the future by the dispensing of patronage is great, although Senatorial courtesy forces him to share this patronage, so far as certain offices in each state are concerned, with the Senators from that state, if they are of his party.

The Constitution provides no means of removal except impeachment and that can be used for very serious offenses only; but by custom the President has removed any officer he nominates or appoints. President Jackson removed two Secretaries of the Treasury who failed to remove the Federal funds from the United States Bank. In 1926 the Supreme Court upheld the President's power of removal. This decision indicates that the Tenure of Office Act of 1867 was unconstitutional.

Because of his power of appointment and removal, the country feels that the President is responsible for the policies and acts of the heads of departments, their chief as-

sistants, and to some extent for the general efficiency of all departments. His active supervision over some departments is greater than that over others. The Secretary of State seldom takes an important step without consulting him, and the Attorney-General must proceed with investigations or institute proceedings when asked to do so. By the Overman Act of 1918 Congress authorized the President as a war measure to rearrange bureaus and offices to any extent he thought useful.

The President's part in making the budget has a very great influence on the work of the departments. As party leader he can encourage or discourage the spoilsmen.

The life of the President is a strenuous one and he should be relieved of many of the less important duties. The stream of office-seekers at the beginning of an administration is a tremendous burden and consumes a great deal of the President's time and energy.

The Vice President. The national conventions usually spend little time trying to secure a person of ability for Vice President. The principal consideration is to secure a man who is from a doubtful state or will balance the candidate for the President geographically and politically. If the candidate for the President is from the West, the candidate for the Vice Presidency should be from the East; if one is conservative, the other should be more acceptable to the radicals. The fact that six Vice Presidents have succeeded to the Presidency should cause the nomination and election to be made with greater care.

The Vice President seldom tries to play party leader in the Senate or exert much influence on legislation. Vice President Dawes, however, even went so far as to carry his fight for the revision of the Senate rules to the people. Vice President Coolidge, at the invitation of President Harding, became a member of the cabinet. The Vice President receives a salary of $15,000 a year.

The Cabinet. The Cabinet is not provided for in the Constitution or by statutory law. It rests upon usage only. The Constitutional Convention discussed the advisability of a council like the Privy Council in England. When Washington became President he seemed to feel that the Senate would act as an advisory body, but it did not meet his advances readily and he came more and more to consult the heads of the executive departments until the name "cabinet" was applied to this advisory group.

The Cabinet has only advisory powers and some Presidents have paid more attention to its opinions than others. President Jackson ceased to have it meet. The meetings of the Cabinet, held twice a week normally, are secret and informal, and no minutes or other record of proceedings are kept.

Since Washington's second term each Cabinet member has usually, but not always, been a member of the same political party as the President. The Cabinet consists of the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, and Secretary of Labor.

Our Cabinet contrasts strongly with the cabinets of France, England and the various self-governing parts of the British Empire. In England the members of the Cabinet sit in Parliament, prepare the most important legislative measures and must resign if they fail to secure the support of Parliament, while the members of the President's Cabinet have no lawmaking functions. Some students of government think the members of the Cabinet should be given a seat in Congress. Would this unduly increase the President's influence in lawmaking?

For more than half a century the Senate had approved the President's choice of Cabinet members, but in 1925 it

refused to approve the nomination by President Coolidge of Charles B. Warren for Attorney-General. The salary of each member is $15,000 a year.

Congress. Congress is responsible in large measure for the efficiency of executive and administrative work. It has created all the executive and administrative offices except the Presidency and Vice Presidency, and has laid out the field of activity of each of the most important units. It established the civil service. It apportions funds among the groups in any manner it sees fit, subject always to the conditional veto of the President. Senatorial courtesy gives the Senators from each state, if of the same party as the President, an opportunity to exert considerable influence with respect to some Federal officers in that state.

Congress has often made use of its authority to investigate departments. The Senate has been especially active recently and has forced people in various fields to give information concerning the activity of government officials. The authority of Congress over the heads of departments has been a matter of dispute between several Presidents and Congress, and the Supreme Court has held that for certain discretionary matters of a political nature the Federal officers are responsible to the President only, but that in ministerial matters they are responsible to the laws of Congress, and must obey them, even against the protest of the President.

A Congress hostile to the administration may seriously embarrass the President and hurt the work of the administrative departments. The party leaders of a friendly Congress may force the President to do things as the price of coöperation.

The executive departments and independent agencies. There are ten great executive departments, each of which is divided into many bureaus, divisions or offices. An individual, usually known as secretary, is at the head of each

department. He has general supervision over the work of the department, appoints and removes many employees, makes important regulations for his department and gives information to Congress or the President. Several times, as in the administrations of Cleveland and Roosevelt, an officer, at the direction of the President, has refused to give Congress the desired information, in which case Congress has been unable to compel obedience.

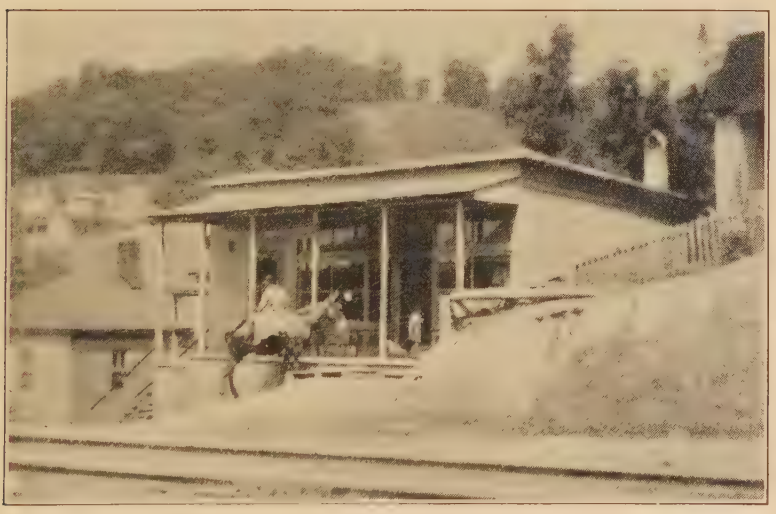
THE HOME OF THE STATE AND WAR DEPARTMENTS

The Department of State, organized in 1789, directs the administration of foreign affairs, has charge of the publication of Federal laws and is the medium of communication between the President and the governors of the states.

The Department of the Treasury, organized in 1789, has charge of taxation, acts as treasurer, pays bills, issues currency, conducts the Public Health Service and has charge of enforcement of prohibition.

The Department of War, organized in 1789, has charge of the land forces of the United States, the Military Academy, the Panama Canal and the insular affairs.

The Department of Justice has existed as a department since 1870 only, but the Attorney-General has been in the Cabinet since 1789. The Attorney-General advises the President, represents the Government in suits to which the United States is a party, and directs the district attorneys and marshals. The Department of Justice has an elaborate secret service system and administers the Federal prisons.



A Mountain Mail Carrier and Post Office

The Post Office Department still makes use of the mule to reach isolated sections.

The Post Office Department, existing since 1794, with the Postmaster-General in the Cabinet since 1829, has charge of the postal service.

The Department of the Navy, established in 1798, has charge of the navy and the United States Naval Academy.

The Department of the Interior, established in 1849, includes the General Land Office, the Office of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Education, Reclamation Service, Bureau of Pensions and other units.

The Department of Agriculture, established in 1889, helps the agricultural forces to function more efficiently and conducts the Weather Bureau.

The Department of Commerce, established in 1903, contains the Steamboat Inspection Service, the Lighthouse Service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureaus of the Census, Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Mines, Standards, Navigation and Fisheries.

The Department of Labor, established in 1913, has nine divisions of which the Women's and Children's Bureaus, the Employment Service and the Bureaus of Immigration, Naturalization and Labor Statistics are the most important.

Congress has established more than a score of important executive agencies which are not included in the ten departments. Some of the most important of these are the Civil Service Commission, Inter-State Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Tariff Commission, Veterans' Board and the Library of Congress.

There has been considerable agitation for a reorganization of the executive and administrative machinery, and several committees, after elaborate investigations, have made recommendations for changes. Some desire a Department of Public Welfare to take over some existing agencies; others wish the Bureau of Education made a department.

The spoils system and civil service. By the spoils system we mean the giving of employment by the government on the basis of party affiliation or political activity, not on the basis of fitness for the work. The best employee may be discharged to make room for a political appointee. President Jackson is often blamed for the introduction of the spoils system, but it existed in city, state and Nation long before he became President. He gave the system much importance by making greater use of it than the earlier

Presidents. The evils which came from the removal of employees and the appointment of political partisans, regardless of fitness, became so great that after several unsuccessful attempts to remedy the situation, Congress in 1883 passed the Civil Service Act. This Act created the Civil Service Commission of three members, not more than two of whom may be of the same political party, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

The Commission prepares examinations for those desiring Federal positions. When a position covered by the civil service regulations is to be filled, the Commission sends the names of the three candidates who stand highest on the list, and from these the employing officer chooses one. War veterans are given the preference and there is an attempt to apportion employees among the states according to population.

Removals must be for cause and the cause stated. No one may be removed for political reasons, but the courts have never interfered to prevent removals. Promotions are by examination and the efficiency record while in the Federal service.

The President determines what divisions of the service shall be included under civil service regulations. In 1883, 13,924 positions were included. There are about 425,000 such positions at present. About 120,000 civil employees of the executive departments are outside the civil service regulations.

There have been improvements in the administration of the civil service as well as an extension of that service. The Classification Act of 1923 provides for a more scientific classification of the Federal employees in the District of Columbia, with a salary schedule which attempts to bring greater uniformity in pay for similar positions, and provides for a study of Federal service outside the District of Columbia, with a view to securing data for further legisla-

tion. The Federal contributory pension system of 1920 for old and disabled employees in the classified service may increase the efficiency of that service.

The efficiency of administrative work has been greatly increased by the civil service, and this service could be extended to other positions with advantage. The civil service itself should be improved.

Questions on the Text
Including Article II of the Constitution

1. How does the method of choosing a President today differ from that anticipated in 1789?
2. Enumerate and criticize the powers of the President.
3. Explain the significance of his influence in foreign relations, and in efficiency of service of the other Federal employees.
4. Compare the Cabinet of the United States with that of England.
5. How does Congress affect the efficiency of executive and administrative work?
6. Summarize the work of each of the ten great executive departments.
7. Name the principal independent executive agencies.
8. What connection was there between President Jackson and the spoils system?
9. What are some of the regulations used in the operation of civil service reform?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. *Resolved:* That there should be a single term of six years for the President, with inability to succeed himself.
2. What commended our present President to the voters? What qualities should we insist on the President having?
3. Is there any reason to suppose a man would make a better President than a woman?
4. How could the President be relieved of some of his less important duties so that he would have more time for the really important matters?

5. Would you assign the Vice President additional duties? Abolish the office?

6. Who are the present members of the President's Cabinet?

7. *Resolved:* That we should adopt a cabinet system like that of England.

8. Prepare a chart showing in detail the organization of the administrative departments. List the administrative agencies outside these departments.

9. Discuss the reorganization of our administrative machinery.

10. Report on the present position of the Federal civil service.

11. Tell why you would or would not like to work for the Federal Government.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE JUDICIARY

THE PROBLEM: Why do we have a judiciary? Do we really need both a state and a Federal system of courts? Which is doing its work better? A comparison of the state and Federal systems will enable us to see the strong and weak points of each.

The task of the judiciary. One important duty of the judiciary is to decide what a law means. Those who make constitutions and statutes use words which have a variety of meanings and it is extremely difficult sometimes to determine just what the lawmakers meant to enact. The judiciary must also decide when there is a conflict between two laws since any act of a state or local lawmaking body or of Congress is void if it is contrary to the Constitution, and any act of a state or local lawmaking body is void if it is contrary to the state constitution. The judiciary must also determine in a criminal case whether the accused has broken the law, and in a civil case whether redress shall be given and, if so, what the redress shall be.

Since we have a dual system of law—state and Federal—we have a dual judiciary. Each system is complete in itself except that appeals may be taken from the highest court in the state system to the Supreme Court of the United States, if a Federal question is involved. Both Federal and state courts have jurisdiction in some matters. The supremacy of National law in certain fields makes a system of National courts necessary. The lack of such a system was one of the greatest weaknesses under the Articles of Confederation.

Organization of the state courts. The courts of each state are arranged in a progressive series. The steps in

the series vary from three in some states to five in others.

The justices of the peace or magistrates constitute the lowest step and are found in all states. They have original jurisdiction over minor offenses and unimportant civil suits only. Their jurisdiction is frequently limited in civil cases to those involving one hundred dollars or less, and in criminal offenses to those punishable by fines of the same amount. In cities, especially the larger ones, the work is often divided between courts which deal with civil offenses and the police courts which deal with criminal offenses. One justice or magistrate presides, and in rural districts his jurisdiction usually extends throughout the entire county.

The county court, which exists in a majority of the states, has original jurisdiction over both civil and criminal cases which are too important for the courts of the justices and magistrates, but not important enough for the circuit court. It hears appeals from the courts of the justices and magistrates. One judge usually presides.

The circuit court, sometimes called district court or superior court, exists in every state and has original jurisdiction over practically all the most important civil and criminal cases, and hears appeals from the lower courts. In those states which have no county court, the circuit court does the work done in other states by both county and circuit courts.

An appellate court sometimes exists between the circuit court and the highest state court, to lessen the work of the highest state court. This court has only appellate jurisdiction and its decision is final in many classes of cases. In several states this court is known as the supreme court, but in most states the highest court is known as the supreme court. More than one judge presides.

The supreme court, or court of appeals, which stands at the head of the judicial system of every state has extremely

little original jurisdiction. It hears appeals from the lower courts. It usually reviews questions of law but not of fact. The number of judges who preside varies from three to sixteen; there is usually an odd number to prevent a tie. These courts are giving an increasing proportion of time to fundamental law.

Special courts have been set up by all the states to try certain classes of cases. The probate or orphans' court

Courtesy, U. S. Children's Bureau

HEARING, CHILDREN'S COURT, BUFFALO, NEW YORK

has been established to decide the disposition of property of the deceased, the insane, or minors. Courts of domestic relations have jurisdiction over matters involving husband and wife, or parent and child. Children's courts are found in most of the larger cities, and the court of small claims is being introduced.

Organization of the Federal courts. The Federal courts, also, are arranged in a progressive series. All except the Supreme Court were established by Congress. They administer both law and equity.

The district courts have unlimited original jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases save the limited field in which the Supreme Court and the special courts have original jurisdiction. The district courts have no appellate jurisdiction.

The United States is divided into eighty-two districts, not including four in Alaska and one each in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Canal Zone, in each of which one or more judges, sitting alone, presides. In districts where there is more than one judge, as many cases may be in progress as there are judges. Many of the districts have several places for holding court. There are about one hundred and thirty district judges.

The circuit courts of appeals, created in 1891, have no original jurisdiction, but have appellate jurisdiction over most of the cases appealed from the district courts. A few cases go directly from the district courts to the Supreme Court. Congress has provided that the decisions of the circuit courts of appeals shall be final in the vast majority of cases, unless the Supreme Court orders, on petition of either party, those cases to be brought before it.

The United States is divided into nine circuits, and there are about thirty-five circuit judges. There are from two to four judges in each circuit. The justice of the Supreme Court who has oversight over the circuit has the right, and district judges in the circuit may be asked, to serve in the circuit court. Two or more judges must sit in each case.

The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state is a party. It has appellate jurisdiction over cases from the Federal courts, and from the supreme court of each state if there is a Federal question involved. It has jurisdiction both as to law and fact.

It is the most powerful tribunal in the world and has power to declare void the act of any legislative body from

Congress to the officials who make laws for a village. When the Supreme Court in 1803 in the case of Marbury *v.* Madison declared an act of Congress unconstitutional for the first time, many people believed it was exceeding its power, but the doctrine of judicial supremacy has become one of the fundamental beliefs of the American people. There

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JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT

SANFORD SUTHERLAND BUTLER STONE
MCREYNOLDS HOLMES CHIEF—TAFT VAN DEVANTER BRANDEIS

is, however, some agitation to permit Congress, by an extraordinary majority, to have the final decision as to whether an act passed by it shall be valid in spite of the fact that the Supreme Court has declared it unconstitutional.

There is a Chief Justice, and eight Associate Justices. A majority vote is necessary for a decision. It holds sessions from October to May. Juries are not used. The passionate appeal of the jury lawyer is absent.

The Supreme Court is generally regarded at home and

abroad as the branch of our Government which has functioned most successfully. It was formerly so far behind in its work that it took a case three years to secure a hearing unless it were ordered up out of its regular order. Judicial changes have caused so much improvement that a case is now generally heard within one year after it has been appealed.

Some special courts have been established by Congress. The Court of Claims, established in 1855, is composed of five judges, and hears claims against the United States. A Court of Customs Appeals, established in 1909, is composed of five judges and hears appeals from the decisions of a board of general appraisers in the administration of the tariff laws.

State officers. The judges of the state courts are usually elected by popular vote, but in some states they are chosen by the legislature and in others by the governor with the consent of the legislature, senate or executive council. Popular election of judges is largely a product of the nineteenth century as most of them were formerly chosen by the governor, legislature, or governor and council. Their term varies from two years to life tenure. The average term is approximately three years for justices of the peace and magistrates, four years for county judges, five years for circuit judges and ten years for judges of the higher appellate courts.

Judges can be removed by impeachment, and a few states, including Arizona, California and Oregon, provide for their recall. Colorado has provided for the recall of judicial decisions.

The prosecuting attorney is an extremely important officer. He has the responsibility of gathering evidence on account of which the grand jury may bring indictments. He can do much to shield criminals, and it is extremely hard to prove that he has been guilty of wrongdoing.

He represents the state in all cases, but most of his work is in connection with criminal rather than civil matters. He is usually elected for counties by popular vote.

The difficulties encountered by the poor, because they are unable to employ suitable counsel, have caused a few courts to provide a public defender, employed by the state. He defends without charge those accused of crime. The sheriff or constable enforces the orders of the court. There is a clerk in the courts above the lowest grade who keeps records, issues processes and writs, and keeps the court seal.

Federal officers. The Federal judges are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, for life. They can be removed only by impeachment. The permanence of tenure tends to make them free from political control and enables them to do what they think is right without fear of trouble from popular resentment. No justice of the Supreme Court, and only three judges, one of whom was insane, of the inferior courts, have been removed, although several have resigned when they knew they must stand trial.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court receives $20,500 a year and the Associate Justices $20,000. The circuit judges receive $12,500 and the district judges $10,000.

There is in every district a United States district attorney to represent the Government and a United States marshal to arrest offenders and assist the court. These officers, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, are under the direction of the Attorney-General.

Juries. The grand jury examines evidences of crime and has the power to bring an indictment against any one it thinks should be brought to trial. In this way it tends to protect the individual from the annoyance of unwarranted indictments by officials. The grand jury makes it harder for an official to protect criminals from the law.

If there are unsatisfactory conditions so far as crime or the courts are concerned, it may make recommendations to the officials. It has the power to summon any citizen to appear before it and testify. The prosecuting attorney is expected to present evidence of crime, but any citizen may be permitted to bring anything to the notice of the grand jury. It is summoned periodically in all states but it is less important than formerly and some states have dispensed with it almost entirely. Where there is no grand jury, indictments are brought by the prosecuting attorney's giving information to the court. The Constitution requires the Federal judiciary to use the grand jury in all serious cases except those arising in the military forces in time of war or public danger.

The petit jury, or trial jury, which almost everywhere consists of twelve persons, usually determines questions of fact only, the judge determines questions of law, but in a few states the jury determines both question of law and fact. It is used in all criminal trials at law except for minor offenses, and in the majority of civil cases at law, but is never used in equity cases. There is a tendency to waive the right of jury trial in civil suits. A unanimous decision is required in the most important criminal cases in all states, but many states permit a verdict in less serious criminal cases and in civil cases by less than the entire number of jurors.

From a list of all persons eligible for jury service the prospective jury is chosen by lot, but a prospective juryman may be excused by the judge if absence from business would cause great inconvenience. The prospective juryman may be prohibited from serving if he has already made up his mind as to the merits of the case, is a relative of an interested party or is apt for other reasons to be greatly prejudiced. Women serve on juries in some states.

Court procedure. In a criminal case the accused person

is brought into court. If he pleads guilty there is no trial; the judge sets the penalty.

If he pleads not guilty a jury is selected, witnesses for the prosecution are examined by the prosecutor and cross-examined by the attorney for the accused. The witnesses for the defense are examined and cross-examined. The members of the jury sometimes question witnesses. The judge decides whether certain testimony shall be admitted. The attorneys for each side make closing speeches. The judge makes his charge to the jury and the jury retires to discuss the case and decide concerning the guilt or innocence of the accused. If no agreement is reached the jury is discharged and a new trial ordered.

In a civil case the procedure is much the same as in a criminal case, but the contest is now between the plaintiff and the defendant, and the State simply renders judgment between the two contestants.

In equity cases the judge decides both law and fact, and the evidence and arguments are usually in writing. Equity is more flexible than the common law and arose to give redress where suitable redress could not be had under the common law. It has been modified by statute. By the writ of habeas corpus, the writ of mandamus and the writ of injunction, the court may exert great power outside the courtroom.

The necessity of improvement. The judiciary, especially the state judiciary, is being severely criticized. There seems to be little room for doubt that the present large amount of crime is due in no small measure to the failure of the judiciary to function properly.

One serious fault is the fact that the courts are often far behind—sometimes years behind—in their work. Probably an even more disastrous defect is found in the delays after a case has been called. The great number of provisions to guarantee that the innocent shall not be convicted

have proved loopholes through which multitudes of criminals have escaped. Many criminals have escaped because of technicalities. Many by appeals have put off their punishment for years until interest in their crimes sagged and they were punished lightly, if at all.

The petit jury system has lost much of the confidence it once enjoyed. It has come down to us from medieval England and was once highly prized as an instrument to shield the individual from tyrannical officials. Too often the relative eloquence of the opposing counsel or extralegal influence, rather than the law or justice, has determined the verdict. Because a unanimous verdict is required in most serious criminal cases the counsel for the defense strives to get one personal friend on the jury who will make an unfavorable verdict impossible. The requirement that every juror must be convinced beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused is guilty makes it extremely hard to convict. The dislike of jury service and the ease with which many get excused from such service, have lowered the quality of the jurors.

Should the jury be abolished and the judge given the authority possessed by the jury in addition to that which he already possesses? This would be a dangerous experiment, but one which many of us may live to see unless the work of our juries shows marked improvement.

Considerable criticism has been leveled against the courts for declaring laws unconstitutional. The fact that the decision of the court represents a majority of one in some cases has made the criticism sharper and some states provide that an extraordinary majority of a court is necessary to declare a law unconstitutional. It is doubtful if the power to curb the judiciary in this respect will go any farther as most of the leaders and the great majority of the American people are firmly convinced that judicial supremacy is much safer than legislative supremacy.

The fact that the Federal judges have been much more efficient than the state judges, and that the state judges who have been appointed for long terms have generally given more satisfaction than those chosen by popular election for short terms, convinces many that appointment and long terms are desirable. Overlapping jurisdiction of the courts, the extensive use of the injunction, especially in labor disputes such as that leading to the Debs case, and the large number of reprieves and pardons are often spoken of as causes of inefficiency.

The judiciary, as well as the lawmakers, has made considerable progress toward fitting the punishment to the criminal. The courts of arbitration and conciliation, such as those of Illinois, New York, and North Dakota, have done much to keep civil cases out of courts. The greatest need, however, is an intelligent, vigilant public opinion, which demands that those who are guilty shall be declared so and punished.

Questions on the Text

Including Article III of the Constitution

1. Compare the jurisdiction of the Federal judiciary and the state judiciary.
2. What Constitutional rights has the accused?
3. Name three duties of the judiciary.
4. Name the courts in the state system and indicate the jurisdiction of each.
5. Name the courts in the Federal system and indicate the jurisdiction of each.
6. What likenesses are there in the organization of the Federal and state courts? What differences?
7. Compare the Federal and state judges.
8. Why is the prosecuting attorney an important officer?
9. Compare the work of the grand jury and the petit jury.
10. Trace the steps in the procedure in a criminal case.
11. Discuss six criticisms of the judiciary.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Define habeas corpus, mandamus, injunction, a certiori, writ of error, original jurisdiction, appellate jurisdiction, warrant, bail, subpoena, plaintiff, defendant, true bill, tort, felony, misdemeanor, declaratory judgment.

2. Should the court accept the intent of the lawmakers as the meaning of the law?

3. Explain the work of children's courts.

4. Study the decisions of the Supreme Court in the cases following: Marbury *v.* Madison; McCulloch *v.* Maryland; Legal Tender cases.

5. Does the age of members of the Supreme Court have any important bearing on their decisions?

6. What courts are included in the judicial system of your State? Discuss the selection and tenure of judges there.

7. Compare the efficiency of the Federal judiciary and the state judiciary.

8. *Resolved:* That our State should have recall of judges.

9. Should the grand jury be abolished?

10. Criticize the petit jury. Should fewer than a majority of it be permitted to render a verdict in any case? In every case? What qualities should a member of a petit jury possess?

11. What should we do about the law's delays?

12. How can we limit the power of skillful attorneys so that they will find it more difficult to prevent the guilty being punished?

13. Should the courts strive harder to give justice and pay less attention to the technicalities of the law?

14. Compare the judicial supremacy of the United States with the legislative supremacy of Great Britain. Which is better for the United States?

15. *Resolved:* That the leniency of the courts is responsible for a very large part of our crime.

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CHAPTER XXVII

ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

THE PROBLEM: No system of government will be effective unless it is administered by competent officials. The personnel is as important as the machinery of government. The political party is one of the most influential forces back of the personnel. Who have a part in choosing our officials? What has been done to aid voters in choosing better officials? Is the work of political parties as fine as we have a right to expect of organizations that profess to work for the good of the whole country?

Qualifications of voters. In colonial times, property and religious qualifications were common. These qualifications were to be found in some of the states after the adoption of the Constitution. Several states had white manhood suffrage before 1800 and there was such an extension of this during the nineteenth century under the influence of Jacksonian democracy that by 1860 it was found in almost every state.

Free negroes had been permitted to vote in several states, North and South, before 1800, but it was not until after the Civil War that they could vote in more than a few states. In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment placed all races on the same legal footing, but in many sections of the South the negro is largely excluded from voting.

The modern movement for general suffrage for women on the same terms with men really began in 1869 in the Territory of Wyoming, although a few women could vote earlier. Complete equality existed in twelve states at the time of the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Twenty-three other states had partial woman suffrage by 1920.

The present qualifications are: All states require that a person reach the age of twenty-one before voting; all require a period of residence in the state which varies from several months to two years, and a shorter residence period in the local district. Citizenship is required in all except Arkansas where an alien who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen may vote. About twenty states have an educational test as an absolute or alternative requirement; the education required is usually about enough to enable one to read the Constitution. Some states require a poll or other small tax, and the property qualification has not quite disappeared.

When one looks back over the struggles made by the American people for self-government and by certain classes for the privilege of the suffrage it would seem that election day would find us eager to express our preference at the polls. A very large number, often more than fifty per cent of those eligible, do not vote. This indifference of so large a number sometimes makes it possible for a small group of persons who wish to control the election for personal reasons to do so.

Compulsory voting has been tried in Belgium, Australia, New Zealand, and several other countries. In a recent election in Australia ninety per cent of those eligible to vote did so. Does the fact that a voter is compelled to vote affect the quality of his vote?

Many of those who possess the legal qualifications are not in a position to vote intelligently when the election day arrives. Often the voter knows little about the candidates or the issues and his vote is little more than a blind guess. One of the greatest services the citizen can render America is done when he gets sufficient information to enable him to vote intelligently.

Nominations. For a hundred years after the adoption of the Constitution there was little legal attempt to regulate

nominations. It was thought that the nomination was a private matter and voluntary action alone was advisable.

Sometimes a person would become a candidate for local office by announcing his candidacy. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century nominations for the principal state offices as well as the Presidency and Congress were often made by legislative caucus. Sometimes political leaders would meet with the members of the legislature for this purpose.

From 1840 until the beginning of the twentieth century nominations of each party for county offices were made by county conventions, for state offices and Congress by state conventions, and for the Presidency and Vice Presidency by national conventions. The choice of delegates to the conventions was usually determined by party bosses. Sometimes the delegates were chosen by the party committee. Where they were elected, the meeting to elect them was sometimes secret, or called at such a time and place that it was difficult for most of the party members to attend, and in some cases only a select few of the party received notice of the meeting. In any case the nominees usually represented the choice of the bosses rather than of the majority of the members. Since no one, normally, who had failed to receive the party nomination could be elected, the voters at the regular election were required to choose between rival candidates the nomination of whom had been largely determined by party bosses.

There was so much dissatisfaction with the convention that almost every state during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century provided for the nomination of many officers by direct primaries; that is, a direct vote of the party members. A candidate usually gets his name on the primary ballot by filing a petition signed by a certain number or percentage of voters. Primaries of all parties are generally held on the same day and regulated by law with

much the same care as is now shown in the regular elections. A plurality is ordinarily sufficient to nominate, but in some states, if no candidate receives a certain percentage of votes, a second primary is held to decide between the two candidates with the highest number of votes.

Many cities and one state provide for non-partisan nominations by primaries. Very often the primary is non-partisan in name only, as the voters know to which party a candidate belongs, and a very large proportion are influenced by this knowledge.

Safeguarding the election. Elections are conducted much more honestly now than they were a generation ago. Formerly the grossest abuses were connected with them. They were often held in saloons or other places where the moral atmosphere was bad. The buying of votes and the intimidation of voters were common. Many times officials who counted the votes would send in false returns. Oral voting, which was practiced at first in all states and lasted in some until after the Civil War, made intimidation easy. Before 1890 ballots were usually printed and distributed privately. Each party, by having its ballots a certain color, could tell who voted its ticket.

The Australian ballot, introduced in 1888 by Massachusetts, is now generally used. It provides for the printing and distribution of ballots by the government, and for secret voting. Ballots are distributed in the voting place only, and every ballot must be accounted for by the election officials.

Until recently the ballots ordinarily had the party emblem at the head of the column which contained the party candidates and one could vote for all the party candidates by placing a cross beneath the party emblem. This enabled even the most ignorant voter to cast his vote as the party manager wished. Some states do not permit the party emblem to be used at the head of the column, but

place it or the party name opposite the name of each candidate. On such a ticket one must put a cross opposite the name of each candidate for whom he votes. Some states do not permit the use of a party emblem in electing judges, and many cities do not permit it in electing any of their officers.

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RECEIVING THE BALLOT

The voter has signed his name and the election officials have compared the signature with that made by the voter on registration day. When he enters a booth no one can see how he votes.

Each party or candidate is permitted to have a watcher in the voting place to challenge any one he thinks has no right to vote and to see that no unfairness is practiced detrimental to the interests of that party or candidate. The votes are counted by a committee made up of members of all parties and, if there are independent candidates, by political adherents of the independent candidates. Voting machines are now used in some places.

Some states are trying to free local communities from the influence of partisan politics by providing that local elections shall be held at a different time from state and national elections.

Absentee voting is permitted in one half the states. Annual registration is required in a large number of cities, and in the rural districts of many states a person is required to register once. The election regulations have been improved to so great an extent that it is difficult for one party to practice fraud at the election where the two major parties are pitted against each other. If, however, there is a question, as an amendment, on which the major parties are agreed, it is often possible for them, acting together, to practice fraud both in the voting and in the counting of votes.

By the Corrupt Practices Act of 1907, Congress forbade corporations chartered by the United States to contribute to campaign funds and forbade corporations chartered by states to contribute to campaign funds for the election of President, Vice President and members of Congress. Later acts require organizations to publish receipts and expenditures for each Federal primary and regular election, limit the amount a candidate for Congress can expend, forbid the buying and selling of votes, and require accounting by national, state and Congressional campaign committees in Federal elections. The law limiting the amount a candidate for the Senate can spend was declared unconstitutional.

All of the states have enacted laws which are somewhat similar to the Corrupt Practices Acts of the Federal Government.

The recall was introduced a quarter of a century ago, and is now in operation in a fourth of the states. It has been used most often to recall city officers, but in a few instances state officers have been removed in this way.

Preferential voting, minority representation, and cumulative voting. Preferential voting is much more likely than the usual American system to secure election by a majority. The principle in a democracy is that the majority should control. In the United States, a plurality ordinarily elects and it often happens where there are more than two candidates that the person elected receives less than a majority of the votes so that he is really elected by a minority.

In preferential voting, the voter votes for one candidate as his first choice, another as his second choice and other candidates for other choices. If no candidate gets enough first choices to make the quota necessary for election, the second choices are added. If the first and second choices fail to make the necessary quota, other choices are added until the required quota is obtained or all choices have been added, in which case the one with the highest number of votes wins, irrespective of quota. If more than one candidate is to be elected the additional ballots obtained by any candidate beyond what are necessary to elect him are distributed according to their next choice.

In some cities, if the adding of the second choice fails to elect, the lowest candidate will be dropped and his ballots given according to their second choice, then the next lowest candidate dropped and so on until there are enough candidates with the necessary quota, or there are no more candidates left than there are places to be filled. This method may prevent the election of a person, perhaps a machine candidate, who has more first choices than others, but is so undesirable in the eyes of the other voters that he gets few second or other choices.

Preferential voting is widely used in Europe and has been introduced into Jersey City, Spokane and some fifty other American cities.

Proportional representation is an attempt to give minor-

ity representation. In its ideal form the representatives elected by each party or other group would bear the same proportion to the entire number elected as its size bears to the entire body of voters.

In the List system, used in Belgium and France, representatives are elected at large or from group districts, never from single number districts. The members on each party ticket are elected in the order in which their names appear on the ballot unless the voters indicate a different order. Thus, if the Republican party were entitled to two representatives the first and second candidates on its list would be declared elected. This system would permit the third parties, or independent groups which seldom elect representatives, to have a voice in the government. Nominations under both the List system and the Hare system are usually by petition.

The Hare system which makes use of preferential voting and is designed to bring minority representation is now in operation in scores of American cities, including Kalamazoo, Sacramento, Cleveland and Cincinnati. It provides for more than one representative from each district. The quota necessary for election is found by dividing the number of votes by a number larger by one than the number of places to be filled, then adding one to the quotient. The many advocates of proportional representation believe a much nearer approach to it is made under the Hare system than the usual election by plurality or majority.

Cumulative voting is also designed to give minority representation. Several candidates are elected from each district and the voter, who has as many votes as there are candidates, may give all votes to one candidate or distribute them in any way he pleases. By concentrating all votes on one candidate even a small minority is apt to elect him. Cumulative voting is used in electing members to the Legislature of Illinois.

Origin and development of political parties. The divisions among voters which result in the formation of political parties have their basis to a very large extent in the different economic interests, the different intellectual judgments, the social distinctions and the personal influence of leaders who desire to control the government.

Those who made the Constitution were very anxious to avoid party government, but Washington had not been in the Presidency long before the Federalists, who represented the commercial and capitalist classes of the East and North and wanted a strong central government, and the Anti-Federalists, who represented the agricultural classes of the South and West and wanted a weak central government, were beginning a fight which became so bitter that Jefferson resigned from Washington's Cabinet and soon became the leader of the Anti-Federalists. The Federalist party was dead by 1816, but the Anti-Federalist party—sometimes called Republican party, sometimes Democratic party, sometimes Republican-Democratic party—was becoming more and more like the Federalist party in belief and action.

After the sectional grouping of the twenties, the radical members of the old Jefferson party, afterward known as the Democratic party, gained control and held it until the Civil War, except for the eight years of Whig control. The Democratic party was led by Jackson and other Western pioneers. The Whig party was formed by a union of the financial interests of the East, native Americans, leaders who disliked Jackson personally, and the advocates of internal improvements, states' rights and a high protective tariff. It elected a President in 1840 and 1848, but was destroyed by the slavery issue.

The Republican party came into being in 1854 as a union of several antislavery groups, soon absorbed what was left of the Whig party, and in 1860 elected Lincoln President.

Since the Civil War we have had two major parties, and in the struggle between them the Republicans have lost the Presidency to the Democrats only four times—when Cleveland was elected twice and Wilson twice—although Congress has been Democratic at other times. The Republican party has usually advocated a higher tariff than the Democratic, has been more closely connected with the large financial and business concerns, and has been less friendly to cheap money and the League of Nations, but the real division seems to be based more on memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction and on tradition than on difference of principles advocated.

Some of the third parties which have existed since the Civil War have been influential. By agitating reforms they have kept them before the people and caused the major parties to adopt some of them. One third party, the Progressive, by dividing the Republican vote in 1912 enabled the Democrats to elect Wilson by a large plurality. The third parties are generally so weak that our government, like that of England, is considered a two-party government. In France there are a large number of small parties instead of two major ones.

Organization of political parties. The party organization consists largely of conventions and committees. The national conventions meet every four years, the state conventions every two years, ordinarily, while the Congressional district, county, city and town conventions may meet more frequently. Since the adoption of direct primaries by almost half the states, the local conventions have usually been abolished in those states save for the minor parties.

The delegates to the national conventions are chosen by state conventions, state committees or direct vote of party members. The delegates to the state conventions are chosen by local conventions, direct vote of party members, or are wholly or in part delegates ex-officio. The

local conventions may be composed of all party members who care to attend or of delegates chosen by direct vote of party members or appointed by local party officials.

There are twice as many delegates from each state to the Democratic national convention as there are members of Congress from that state. The Republicans formerly used the same method of apportioning delegates, but since 1916 they have changed in order to decrease the number of delegates from the Southern states, which give so few electoral votes to that party. The territories and the District of Columbia are permitted to send a small number of delegates.

The conventions, with the exception of the national conventions, are usually in session only a day or two and the greater part of the work of the party is done by permanent committees. The national committee is composed of two delegates, a man and a woman from each state and territory, chosen by direct vote, state conventions or the state delegation at the national convention. In Congress there is a campaign committee in the Senate and another in the House. The state committees, which vary greatly in size, are chosen by state conventions or direct vote of party members. The committees for the Congressional districts, counties, towns, cities and wards are elected by direct vote in some instances, while in others they are chosen by the state convention, by local convention, or by officials.

One cannot tell from looking at the list of members of the conventions and the committees where the real power lies. Often a party boss or small group of party members, known as the machine, possesses the real power and determines in advance what the convention or committee will do. The party boss may or may not be an official, but he gives orders, dispenses patronage and determines what shall, and what shall not, be done.

Political parties at work. It would be extremely hard

to overestimate the power and influence of political parties. Usually it is impossible to elect candidates, decide important issues or secure efficient administration without the coöperation of a political party. In name the people control, but in fact it is often the leaders of the political parties who control. The caucus of the majority party is frequently the real power that determines who is to be elected or what the government will do, as party loyalty will generally cause the voters or officials to abide by the decision of the caucus. The member who refuses to abide by the decision is apt to find himself without party influence and party spoils, and imperils his chance of being renominated.

Political parties make platforms, place issues before the people, unify sentiment, and strive to bring out all party voters. Each party strives to secure the registration of every voter of the party, and frequently furnishes transportation. Parties manage campaigns, and a stranger might be led to think from the zeal and enthusiasm shown that the fate of the country hangs in the balance. By meetings, parades, personal canvass, newspapers, textbooks and many other methods each party strives to get the maximum number of votes. The election won, the leaders normally divide the spoils.

For generations the political party was looked upon as a private, voluntary organization and no attempt was made to regulate it by law. The powers of the parties became so great and were often used so unscrupulously that recently the states and Congress have been carefully regulating party organization, function, activity and finance. In the states where one party has a large majority, and nomination usually means election, the nomination deserves more careful regulation than the regular election.

There has been an important change recently in financing the work of the party. Formerly the larger business interests gave huge sums, and office holders were assessed

to supplement the gifts of party members and the contributions of candidates. The contributions of insurance companies, railroads, and other large corporations caused the country to become alarmed and the states and Congress, beginning about 1907, forbade corporations to contribute to campaign funds and required a statement to be filed giving the nature and amount of expenses at each election. Forced contributions from office holders are illegal but exist in some places.

The political party is so fundamental a force in American political life that we may confidently expect it to be one of the most powerful forces to be reckoned with for generations, perhaps centuries and millenniums, to come. Our frequent elections and numerous candidates make it less likely that it will lose its influence. We must see that we have better parties, functioning better.

The party ideals must be higher. The welfare of America must be put above party loyalty, or private gain. Each party must be controlled by the best elements in that party; not by political bosses who desire selfish control. Our political parties should be leaders in the truest sense, and lead us, in the spirit of service, toward the things which are best in government.

Questions on the Text

1. Trace the history of suffrage requirements from colonial times to the present.
2. What important abuses have been connected with nominations?
3. What has been done to curb abuses connected with elections?
4. What is preferential voting? Proportional representation? The Hare system? Cumulative voting?
5. Name four political parties which existed before the Civil War and tell how each originated.
6. Describe the party conventions. The party committees.
7. What do political parties do?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Should there be uniform suffrage laws throughout the United States?
2. State and criticize the suffrage requirements of your State.
3. *Resolved:* That voting should be compulsory in all elections.
4. How are your various officers nominated?
5. Should the candidates for the Presidency be nominated by a nation-wide primary?
6. Secure a sample ballot and explain to the class how to vote.
7. Study the Hare system in Cleveland.
8. Should the recall be adopted generally? Used often?
9. Should we have fewer elective officers? Less frequent elections?
10. Show the influence of the parties which have never elected a President.
11. Name the political parties which exist at the present time and indicate what each advocates.
12. Study some political machine—past or present.
13. How can the work of political parties be improved?
14. Ask members of several political parties why each belongs to his, or her, party. Ask several independent voters why they have no party allegiance.
15. *Resolved:* That proportional representation should be used widely.
16. *Resolved:* That political parties do more harm than good.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

NATIONAL DEFENSE

THE PROBLEM: To see what forces we have to defend our rights by land, water and air.

Causes of war. Professor John Dewey in *Human Nature and Conduct* says, "Pugnacity, rivalry, vainglory, love of booty, fear, suspicion, anger, desire for freedom from the conventions and restrictions of peace, love of power and hatred of oppression, opportunity for novel display, love of home and soil, attachment to one's people and to the altar and the hearth, courage, loyalty, opportunity to make a name, money or a career, affection, piety to ancestors and ancestral gods—all of these and many more make up the war-like force." There are countless forces which lead toward war—forces which have their origin in human nature, in the social environment or in the physical environment.

Desire for territory has been one of the greatest causes of war from the earliest times to the present. When the land was no longer able to provide sustenance for a people, or a group thought it easier to live by conquering its neighbors than by work, a part or the whole of the people or group set out to find a more desirable home. Time and again the rugged, warlike people of the mountains have descended upon the peace-loving people of the lowlands.

The histories of China, Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Carthage and other ancient and medieval civilized political units are filled with wars for territory, while the modern nations have fought for such noble prizes as North America, and large parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. The desire of individuals to become rulers, the desire for political

independence, self-preservation, commercial rivalry, religious and social antipathies, injustices, militarism, misunderstandings and national honor have been prolific causes of war.

To remove as far as possible the causes of war is one of the most important and most difficult problems of the modern world, and it is a problem that can be solved only by the coöperation of the masses as well as the leaders. The creation of a greater degree of world-wide likemindedness, the development in each nation of a public opinion which will demand that those who speak for the nation be honorable in their dealings with other nations, the use of machinery for the arbitration of disputes, and open diplomacy would work powerfully for peace.

Costs of war. In the World War 8,000,000 men were killed in battle, 18,000,000 wounded, and 7,000,000 made prisoners, or were missing. The total casualties were 33,000,000. The suffering and sorrow of the soldiers and their families and friends were immeasurable. In most of our wars far more persons have died from disease than were killed in battle, but the sanitary arrangements were such that this was not true in the World War. The men killed in battle represent the strongest physically. The social consequences of fewer men than women in a population are sometimes very important.

The economic loss of a great war is extremely heavy. More than 59,000,000 men, including 4,250,000 in the United States, were taken from peaceful pursuits to fill the armies and navies during the World War. Hundreds of millions at home gave up their usual work and produced for war to keep the three score millions at the front. The destruction of goods was tremendous. Our national debt rose from $1,300,000,000 to $24,000,000,000 during the World War in spite of the fact that we were paying very heavy taxes to keep down the post-war debt.

Pensions, especially for Civil War veterans and their families, and other compensations for war injuries or services cost the Federal Government immense sums. The states, too, do much for their veterans. Interest on the debt created by a great war amounts to vast sums. By far the biggest financial costs of war are those connected with the obligations of past wars.

The period of adjustment following a war is apt to be unsatisfactory, with political and economic unrest and a crime wave. It sometimes takes generations to live down the national hatreds.

When one contemplates the possibilities of destruction in the next war with its improved air transportation, poisonous gases and other modern methods of slaughter it deepens one's desire for peace. Five of the powers which attended the Washington Disarmament Conference agreed not to use poisonous gas at all and to abide by certain submarine regulations, but what assurance is there that these and other nations, facing defeat, would continue to fight according to the terms of this agreement?

War powers and administration of defense machinery. The United States, as an independent political unit, was born on the field of battle. Those who made the Constitution, having been through the anxious years of the Revolution and having seen the hopeless weakness of the central government under the Articles of Confederation, placed great war powers in the hands of the Federal Government. Congress has power to declare war, raise armies, provide for a navy, make regulations for governing and provide equipment for armies and navy, provide for organizing and disciplining the militia, govern military reservations and make all laws necessary and proper to the carrying out of the foregoing powers.

By authority of the last clause Congress has claimed and exercised during war almost unlimited authority. It passed

the draft acts of the Civil War and World War, and the Sedition Act of 1918 with its severe penalties. It set the price of wheat and limited the amount of certain foods each family might have. It set the price of coal, bought military supplies at its own price and took over the railroads and such mines and manufacturing establishments as it saw fit.

The President can handle foreign affairs so as to create a situation that will make it almost certain Congress will declare war, or can actually commence war by ordering the military forces to commit acts of war. He appoints the officers of the army and navy. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy in peace and in war.

The President and the Secretary of War are usually men of little or no military training, and are apt to lack in peace and in war much of the efficiency in military matters possessed by men trained in military science. After the experiences of the Spanish War a General Staff was created in 1903 in the Department of War. It consists of a Chief of Staff, assistants, and scores of other officers. It advises the President and Secretary of War, makes plans to increase the military efficiency of the United States, assists in the working out of these plans and directs the work of the Army War College.

In naval matters there is a General Board, composed of naval officers and others, which advises the President and the Secretary of the Navy. There is a Naval War College.

There is some discussion of the advisability of uniting the Department of War and the Department of the Navy so as to form a department of national defense, and a recent committee of the House of Representatives unanimously recommended that this be done. There is some agitation for a separate department of aviation to rank in importance with the Army and Navy Departments.

The state governments were active in many fields during the World War.

Land forces. In time of peace the United States has always had a small standing army. Our isolated position and our distrust of a large standing army have worked toward this end. In 1790 the authorized strength of our army was scarcely more than 1,000 men and as late as 1915 it contained less than 100,000. In time of peace all additions are voluntary enlistments.

There are now three branches of the land forces: The Regular Army, the National Guard and the Organized Re-

An Armory

Units of the National Guard receive much of their training in inclement weather. The armories are used for many kinds of community activity.

serves. The Regular Army numbers about 12,000 officers and 120,000 enlisted men. Enlistments are for one or three years. The Regular Army is to act as a defensive force to check the enemy until a larger force can be trained, to garrison foreign possessions, to train civilians and to suppress domestic violence.

The state militia has been superseded by the National Guard. There are about 11,000 officers and 165,000 enlisted men in the federally recognized units of the National

Guard. There are other state units which have not been recognized by the Federal Government. The National Guard may be drafted into Federal service in time of war or domestic violence, but in normal times its units are under the control of the several states. The guardsmen re-

Courtesy, Department of War

ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN IN ACTION AT NIGHT

ceive a small salary from the United States Treasury and must meet certain requirements of the Federal Government. Enlistments are for three years. There is also a National Guard Reserve.

There are about 80,000 officers and 6,000 enlisted men in the Organized Reserves. They receive no compensation except on active duty and cannot be called into Federal service unless Congress declares that an emergency exists. Most of the officers receive their training in colleges or

summer training camps. In case of war the reserves will form a nucleus about which a large army can be built. Thirty or forty thousand young men now receive a few weeks' training each summer in the citizen training camps.

In time of war the army can be expanded to immense proportions. At the close of the World War the army and marines numbered more than 3,700,000, and millions more were available for service if it had been necessary to use them.

The air fleets have raised many perplexing problems for those who are planning national defense. Have they made

Courtesy, Department of the Navy

The Eye of the Navy

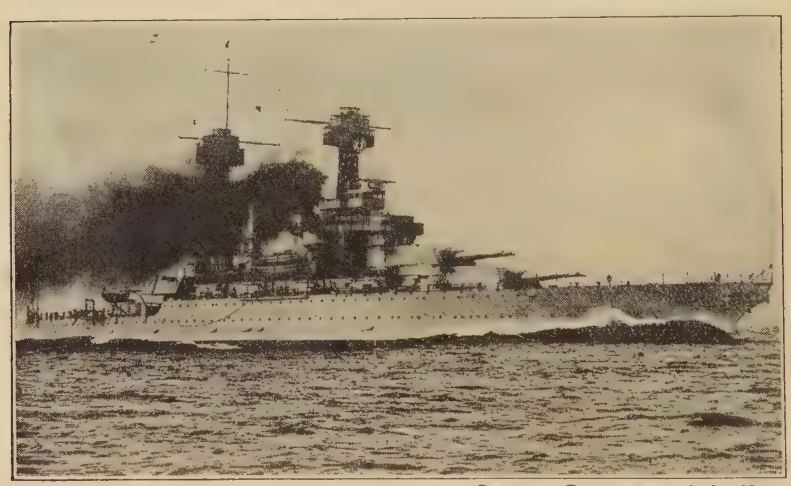
This is a two seater. Note the equipment for observation. The United States is putting forth much effort to develop its air forces.

most of the equipment and methods of defense and offense obsolete? Our military airplanes made a successful trip around the world.

The cost of preparing for war has mounted rapidly. The Department of War spends about $250,000,000 annually for military activity and $75,000,000 for activities which are principally non-military such as improving rivers and harbors, flood control and Muscle Shoals.

The navy. For more than a century our navy was extremely small, except during and just after the Civil War.

In spite of the excellent service rendered in the Revolution and the War of 1812 by our small navy, our isolated position made it seem advisable to spend very little money on it. Our main dependence for the defense of our long coast line was placed in land batteries. About 1885 we began to build a much stronger navy. Our expanding industries with their demand for a world market, the great service



Courtesy, Department of the Navy

U. S. S. Colorado

Today the battleship must fight submarines and aircraft, as well as other battleships and land batteries.

rendered by the navy in the war with Spain and the territory acquired as a result of that war influenced us toward a larger navy. At the outbreak of the World War only Great Britain and Germany had larger ones. While the World War was in progress we entered on a program of building which, if completed, would have given us the strongest navy in the world.

At the Washington Disarmament Conference, 1921–1922, five of the leading nations agreed to a limitation of armaments. The five nations scrapped 68 ships with a

tonnage of nearly 1,900,000 and agreed on the following naval ratio of capital ships: 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.75 : 1.75 for the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy respectively. No limitation was placed on smaller vessels.

A recent survey of the navy showed the following vessels in full commission: 15 battleships, 16 cruisers and light cruisers, 103 destroyers, 77 submarines and approximately

Courtesy, Department of the Navy

The *Los Angeles*

The dirigible made a non-stop flight from New York to Panama in forty hours. Will the increasing use of aircraft endanger our control of the Panama Canal in case of war?

100 accompanying ships such as mine layers, mine sweepers, transports and oilers. The personnel consists of some 8,000 officers and 85,000 men exclusive of the marines. Three thousand of these are in the naval air service which is making considerable progress.

The serviceableness of the airplanes is a demonstrated fact, but the value of the dirigibles is seriously questioned, especially since the destruction of the *Shenandoah*.

The marines, organized in 1775, have been very efficient

in police work in some of our outlying possessions, Central America and the islands of the Caribbean. There are now 18,000 marines. During the World War, when there were more than four times as many, they did excellent work.

The members of the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps, Naval Reserve, and the Volunteer Naval Reserve and the Merchant Marine are ready to serve in case of war. It costs us about $325,000,000 a year to maintain the navy.

Economic forces. Nations, not simply armies and navies, won the World War. Economic forces have had a prominent part in warfare for many centuries, but in the World War the United States mobilized her economic forces more thoroughly than ever before, and it is probable that in any important war of the future they will be even more thoroughly mobilized. It takes time to create strong economic forces and they are normally created in peace.

For decades America had been strong economically, but there was much friction in changing the forces from their peaceful tasks to war-time activities. During the progress of the World War, Congress drafted many economic units, created machinery for the drafting of countless additional units as needed, and, for administration in the various economic fields, created a large number of agencies. Some of these agencies were the War Industries Board, the War Labor Board, the War Trade Board, the United States Railway Administration, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Fuel Administration and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. The liberty loans and war saving stamps campaigns were organized so as to reach rich and poor.

In order that we may be better prepared for industrial mobilization the Department of War is now working out plans for the following: division of activities between factories, control of transportation, work of commodity committees, preparation of forms for contracts, and natural power survey.

Questions on the Text

1. Criticize Professor Dewey's statement.
2. What did the World War cost us?
3. Compare the war powers of Congress and the President.
4. Name and describe the three branches of the land forces.
5. What naval ratio did the Washington Disarmament Conference agree to?
6. How did Congress mobilize our economic forces during the World War?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Make out a program for decreasing the causes of war.
2. What should the nations do to decrease the cost of possible future wars?
3. Should the Department of War and the Navy Department be united?
4. *Resolved:* That we should have a department of aviation.
5. Report on the flight of our army airplanes around the world.
6. Should compulsory universal military training be adopted?
7. Would an agreement providing for a world-wide reduction of land forces or a further reduction of naval armaments be advisable? A multilateral treaty renouncing war?
8. Should the submarine be abolished?
9. Compare the economic forces of the United States with those of some other first-class power.
10. Report on the activity of your State in the World War.
11. Compare the work of men and women in war.
12. *Resolved:* That all nations should immediately abolish all military and naval forces except what is necessary for internal police duty.

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CHAPTER XXIX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE PROBLEM: To understand the most interesting and important facts concerning our relation to other nations and organizations of nations.

World neighbors. The world is getting smaller. The telegraph, telephone, radio, steamship, railway, automobile and airplane make it possible to send communications around the world in a few minutes and to travel around it in a few weeks. The flight of the *Southern Cross* over the Pacific from California to Australia is a reminder of the rapidity with which the world is shrinking.

The social consciousness of humanity is getting wider. In the earliest stage of primitive society all persons beyond the limits of the family or horde were hated. The clan, the tribe, the folk, the city state, the ancient and medieval empires, the great modern states and the ideal of a world state are evidences of the expanding consciousness of humanity, for without such expansion the larger groups could never have come into being.

The peoples of the world need one another. The need for neighborliness rests partly upon the common characteristics of man and partly upon commercial requirements. The peoples of the earth—especially the civilized peoples—have common needs. Since different nations produce different things, foreign trade is very profitable, and it is difficult for unfriendly countries to trade with one another freely.

The need rests partly upon intellectual achievements; the value of the printing press, locomotive, sewing machine and countless other inventions; the value of the discoveries

of Copernicus, Newton, Lavoisier, Jenner, Pasteur, many other scientists and a host of leaders in other fields is so great that to confine each to the nation of its origin would mean an inestimable loss to the rest of mankind. It rests partly upon the fact that the opium and other drug habits, epidemics, crime and many other undesirable things are

CLEARING THE BAR AT 13 FEET

Sabin Carr of Yale defeating the representatives of Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the Harvard Stadium. The international athletic meets tend to develop a spirit of good fellowship between the nations.

sometimes world-wide in influence and cannot be controlled so satisfactorily by a single nation as by many nations.

It rests partly upon the fact that the burden of preparations for war is so great that it causes millions to suffer. The need for neighborliness also rests in no small measure upon the destructiveness of the new instruments of war which wrought such fearful havoc during the World War and are becoming deadlier each year until we fear that

nations, as well as armies, may be wiped out in future wars.

International law. International law is made up largely of customs which have become common in the relationship of civilized nations. Conventions, treaties and the opinions of prominent jurists are also important in the formation of it. Some of the subjects included are emigration, naturalization, treaties, mediation, extraterritorial offenses, treatment of foreign officials, extradition, treatment of prisoners, use of poisonous gases, piracy, exploitation of the products of the sea, sieges, blockades, neutral rights and truces. A commission of the League of Nations is now engaged in the codification of it.

One great weakness of international law is that there is no international court with compulsory jurisdiction to decide when it has been violated and no international police force to enforce it. A strong nation has often violated it at the expense of a weaker nation with impunity. It is frequently enforced by war, threat of war, a financial or economic boycott, or public opinion. World-wide public opinion is now becoming a powerful factor. Germany's violation of the neutrality of Belgium did much to raise up enemies against her.

Our machinery of intercourse. The Federal Government, not the states, has complete control of our foreign relations. The President is the most important unit. He is the one who speaks for the nation, and all members of our foreign service are responsible to him and must follow his instructions. The diplomatic service and the consular service are a part of the Department of State, and the Secretary of State is the agent through whom the President ordinarily communicates with foreign countries or our representatives abroad. The Secretary of State is often very influential, but the ultimate responsibility rests with the President who may take active control as President Wilson did during the World War.

Congress is also an important unit of our machinery for handling foreign affairs. It created the Department of State, including the organization of our service abroad, sets salaries, determines the amounts to be spent for other expenses, and declares war. Its tariff policy and military program also affect our foreign relations.

Our diplomatic service consists of ambassadors, envoys and ministers plenipotentiary, ministers resident, *chargés d'affaires* and clerks or other agents of inferior rank. An ambassador or minister, not both, is sent to each important country. The diplomat must transmit official messages, cultivate the friendship and know conditions of the country to which he is sent, keep his country informed of conditions abroad, and protect American citizens and American interests. His embassy or legation is free from the jurisdiction of the country in which it is located and he, his family, and servants, must not be arrested.

Our consular service consists of consuls general-at-large who travel from country to country to inspect the consulates, consuls general who supervise the consulates of the whole or part of a country; consuls who have charge at a single port or important commercial city; and vice consuls or other assistants. The consul's primary duty is to promote our commercial interest abroad. He must study economic conditions and advise commercial interests at home. He is coming more and more to share this function with the agents maintained abroad by the Department of Commerce. The consul has many duties in connection with the valuation of goods exported to the United States, immigration, settling disputes on United States vessels and aiding our citizens traveling abroad. We have consular courts for the trial of our citizens in China, Persia and Siam.

Until the twentieth century our diplomatic service was generally inefficient and did not have the respect of foreign countries. Most of its members were political appointees,

with little training or prospect of substantial advancement, who soon lost their positions as a result of the spoils system. The salaries were so low that the expenses of our important representatives frequently amounted to more than they received from the Government.

The consular service has received many of its members as a result of the spoils system, but some reforms came in the last decade of the nineteenth century and its work has been more efficient than that of the diplomatic service.

During the first decade of the twentieth century some progress was made in both the diplomatic service and consular service by more careful choice by the Presidents of the higher officials, civil service for inferior officials, and promotions for service. The greatest step toward progress was the law of 1924. This law unites the two services in the "foreign service" which makes it easy to transfer members between the diplomatic and consular branches of the service, provides a uniform salary schedule, provides for compulsory examinations for all except the higher offices and creates a retirement fund.

The foreign service now offers a much better opportunity of advancement for the efficient. Probably it will be regarded as a profession and more persons of ability will train for it, as is true in the leading European countries and Japan. Our consular service now ranks among the best in the world, and our reorganizations in the diplomatic service are causing it to be more highly regarded at home and abroad.

Our foreign policy. Washington, in his Farewell Address, said that in extending our commercial relations with foreign nations we should have as little political connection with them as possible. He said the European countries had certain war-provoking primary interests of little concern to us, and it would be unwise to forsake our position of advantageous isolation and become entangled in the "toils

of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice." Washington was but giving voice to the policy he had been following during the trying times of his administration when France was demanding that we join her in the war with England in return for her help during the Revolution.

The nation followed the advice of Washington and avoided what Jefferson called "entangling alliances" even when many people thought we should ally ourselves with one European nation to resist the wrongs inflicted on us by another.

The Monroe Doctrine came into being as a result of conditions in the Western Hemisphere and in Europe in 1823. The countries of South and Central America had won their independence from Spain and it was clear that Spain, unaided, could not resubdue them. The Holy Alliance, composed of most of the leading countries of Europe, was preparing to help Spain regain her lost colonies. Russia claimed much of the western coast of North America, and it was thought that she would get California, and France get Mexico, if they came to the aid of Spain, thus surrounding us by strong European powers.

The Monroe Doctrine as stated by Monroe contained the following points: The sphere of influence of Europe and the sphere of influence of America are separate. America is no longer open to colonization by any European power. European powers cannot extend their system of government to this hemisphere without endangering our safety. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing colonies of European countries. The intervention by any European power to help Spain regain her colonies would be a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

The doctrine was applied at the close of our Civil War when the French were in Mexico. We interfered when

England and Venezuela were having trouble over a boundary line, and when Germany was threatening to use force to collect debts from Venezuela.

The Monroe Doctrine has developed considerably during the twentieth century. Since we refuse to let Europe chastise the Latin-American states when they fail to meet their obligations, Europe expects us to see that they meet

VISITORS LEAVING THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION

This building was erected in Washington by Andrew Carnegie and the nations of North, South, and Central America. The purpose of the Union is to foster the spirit of friendship among its members.

them. We undertake to see that the Latin-American countries meet their financial obligations, and have intervened in a number of instances to suppress disorder. San Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and other states have felt the control of our financial agents and marines. The representatives of some of the Latin-American nations tried very hard at the Pan-American Congress of 1928 to make it harder for the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of any of the Latin-American countries. The Monroe Doctrine is recognized by the League of Nations.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century the people of the United States seemed to have little, if any, desire to expand beyond the American continent. They wanted only the territory that could be Americanized. A few Americans, however, even before the war with Spain, wanted us to play a more important part in world politics. The expanding industries demanded larger markets. The territory acquired as a result of the war with Spain caused the sentiment for expansion to increase until, for commercial or military reasons, we have taken possession of islands which differ from us widely in race and heritage. We have given much attention to the securing of a strong position in the Pacific.

Our foreign policy has generally favored peace, and both peace and open diplomacy have been furthered by the fact that the necessity for ratification by the Senate makes secret treaties impossible.

The League of Nations. The World War involved so many countries and was so devastating that the statesmen and people of the nations had a deep and intense desire for a permanent peace. President Wilson was convinced that a league of nations would be a great agent of peace and at the Peace Conference at Versailles his greatest desire was to secure the formation of such a league. Most of the statesmen of Europe were indifferent and President Wilson was more influential than anyone else in bringing it into being. The League was made an integral part of the treaty.

The League of Nations has an Executive Council, an Assembly and a permanent Secretariat. The Executive Council was to consist of a representative of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and four other nations selected by the Assembly. As the United States failed to join, only four nations were permanently represented on the Executive Council until Germany was given permanent representation when she entered the League in

1926. The number of countries with temporary representation has been increased from six to nine. The Executive Council now holds quarterly meetings.

Every member state may send one, two or three delegates to the Assembly, but each state has only one vote. The Assembly regularly meets annually but may hold special meetings. It may admit new states by a two-thirds

Photograph by F. H. Jullien *Courtesy, The League of Nations*

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN SESSION

vote. Amendments are voted by it, but must be ratified by the states whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three fourths of the states whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

In the Council and in the Assembly all matters must be decided by a unanimous vote, except in those cases where the Covenant specifies the contrary.

A Secretary General and assistants from the Secretariat have charge of most of the administrative work. The Secretariat corresponds with member states and has charge of other clerical work.

The headquarters of the League are at Geneva, Switzerland. Provision is made for a non-member to unite temporarily when it gets in a dispute with a member.

The functions of the League, as expressed in the preamble of its constitution are: to promote international coöperation and security by the acceptance of obligations

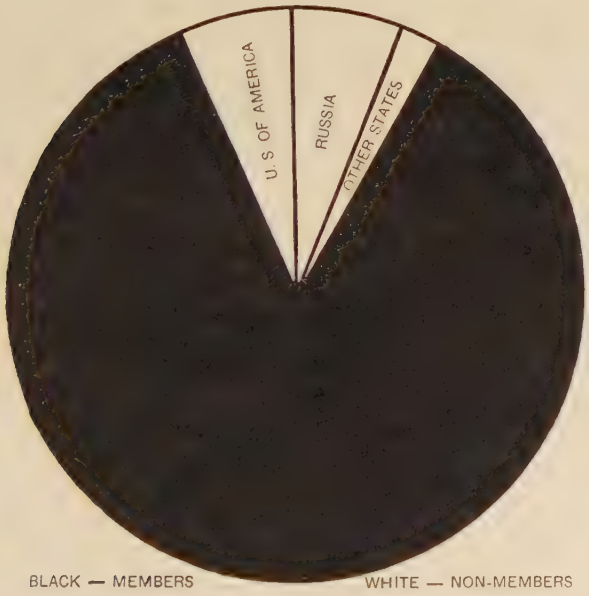
Photograph by F. H. Jullien *Courtesy, The League of Nations*

THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN SESSION

not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct, by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations. The chief function of the League is to promote peace between nations. It has power to take any action it considers necessary to do this.

The members agree to submit disputes to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and not to make war until three months after the award of the arbitrators or the report of the Executive Council. They must not go to war at all against a state that complies with the arbitrators' award or Executive Council's recommendation. If any nation goes to war contrary to this agreement each member of the League is to consider that nation guilty of an act of war against all members of the League and must try to sever all trade and financial relations.

The League also takes over the international bureaus and commissions, considers problems of health, labor, disarmament, mandates, and commerce and administers certain international areas.



Courtesy, Information Section, League of Nations

HUMANITY WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Any self governing state, dominion or colony may become a member by a two thirds vote of the Assembly. What states are not members?

After long and bitter debates in the Senate during which many reservations were offered, the treaty was rejected and we remained outside the League. Many Senators and others disliked The British Empire's having six votes in the Assembly to our one, and feared entrance into the League would abridge our sovereignty and involve us in war against the nations who violated their agreement. The treaty was promptly ratified by one after another of the victorious nations. Other nations joined the League until fifty-six nations were members.

The League has settled a number of boundary disputes, forced several members to refrain from war, called a number of conferences to consider unsatisfactory political and economic conditions, and apparently has been of real service. Considerable dissatisfaction has arisen inside the League and several members have withdrawn from it. It takes two years for a member to complete its withdrawal.

International conference and World Court. Conferences antedated history, no doubt, and have been significant in the history of civilization, but special significance attaches to recent conferences to get rid of the causes of war. The earliest conferences were often secret meetings of those engaged in secret diplomacy; today we have groups of nations gathering to discuss openly their contact with one another in an attempt to solve problems without war.

The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 did a real service by providing an international court which settled more than a dozen disputes which might have led to war, and regulating the conduct of war. The Hague Conference helped prepare the way for the arbitration treaties of Secretary Bryan which were being hailed as the forerunners of the dawn of a new day in international affairs—a day of peace and good will—when the World War broke like a cyclone upon a startled world.

The Washington Disarmament Conference was due to a great extent to the deep desire of nations, saddened by the losses of war and staggering under the burden of preparing for future wars, to find a sane and safe escape from war and the preparation for it. The treaties concerning the limitation of armaments, submarine, poisonous gas, the island possessions in the Pacific and the submission

Courtesy, Department of the Interior

THE HUMAN FLAG

This flower festival representing historic scenes in the development of Hawaii was held at the first Pan-Pacific Conference.

of any dangerous question arising there to a joint conference, and China's sovereignty and trade indicate that the nations who sent representatives to Washington were in earnest. The Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 failed, however, to secure a further reduction of armaments.

The Locarno Treaty of 1925 in which Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Germany guaranteed that the neutral territory separating France and Germany would not be violated, and the economic conferences under the auspices of the League of Nations offer encouragement to those who believe that international conferences, held

in the right spirit, can be productive of a better understanding between the nations. The recent Pan-Pacific conference at Honolulu to consider education, rehabilitation, reclamation and recreation was attended by representatives of many nations and seemed to secure a better appreciation of common interests. At the Pan-American conference at Havana in 1928 twenty-one nations agreed to submit their disputes to arbitration. The conferences of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and other voluntary organizations bring the nations closer together and cultivate the spirit of coöperation.

The Treaty of Versailles made provision for the organization of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and in 1921 the Court came into existence. The Court, known in the United States as the World Court, is composed of eleven judges and four deputy judges elected for a term of nine years by the League of Nations. It holds yearly sessions at The Hague, and special sessions when advisable. It does not have compulsory jurisdiction and its decisions are not binding unless the parties to a dispute have agreed to abide by them.

The Court has functioned well. Presidents Harding and Coolidge advocated our adherence to it and in 1926 the Senate voted to join the Court, provided the other members would agree to the reservations following: Our adherence shall not involve us in any legal relation to the League of Nations, or the assumption of any obligation under the Treaty of Versailles. We shall participate in the election of the judges. We shall pay our share of the expenses of the Court. We may withdraw at any time, and its constitution will not be changed without our consent. The Court shall not give an advisory opinion without our consent concerning any question in which we have an interest. Other nations have not been willing to accept our reservations so we are not a member of the Court.

Questions on the Text

1. Why is there need for neighborliness between nations?
2. What subjects are included in international law?
3. Name the units in our machinery for handling foreign affairs and state the duty of each unit. Discuss the efficiency of our agents abroad.
4. What gave rise to the Monroe Doctrine? What points were included by Monroe? What development of it has taken place since 1823? When has it been applied?
5. What change in attitude toward expansion has taken place in the last half century?
6. Describe the organization of the League of Nations. What functions has the League?
7. What is the significance of the Hague Conferences? The Washington Conference?
8. Describe the organization of the World Court.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What do you consider the five things most dangerous to international peace?
2. How can the spirit of friendship between nations be increased?
3. How can international law be made more effective?
4. Describe the life of an ambassador. Of a consul.
5. Discuss the foreign service as a vocation.
6. *Resolved:* That we should abandon the Monroe Doctrine.
7. Should the League of Nations play a bigger part in the problems of the Latin-American nations?
8. Report on the 1928 Congress of the Pan-American Union.
9. Study the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations.
10. Professor Irving Fisher of Yale wrote in 1924 that the League of Nations had stopped six wars. Make a study of the history of the League and report your agreement or disagreement with that statement. Has it stopped any wars since 1924?
11. Make a detailed study of the work of an important international conference.
12. *Resolved:* That we should join the League of Nations.

13. Report on the personnel, work and accomplishments of the World Court.

14. *Resolved:* That we should join the World Court without reservations.

15. Prepare and deliver a speech on the topic, "America Among the Nations."

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PART FIVE—SELECTED PROBLEMS

CHAPTER XXX

WHITE IMMIGRATION

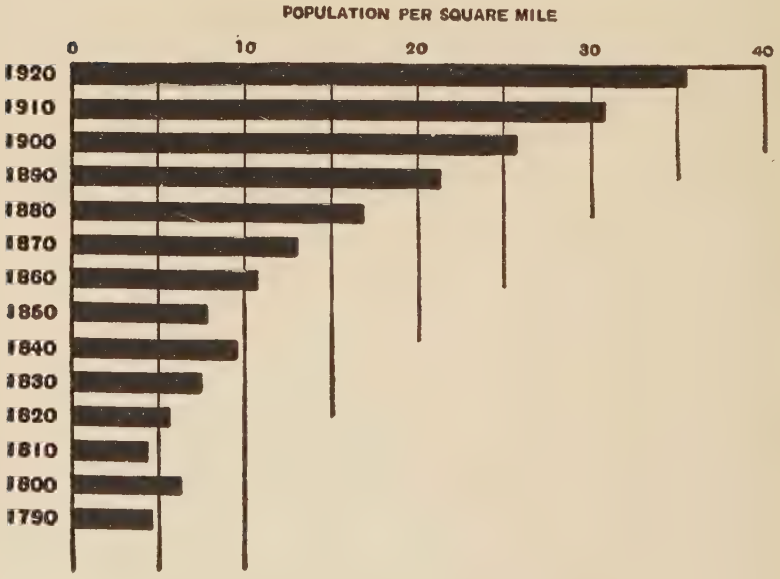
THE PROBLEM: To understand the possible results of white immigration so that we can make wise restrictions, and can adopt the right policy toward those we admit.

Causes. Desire for economic betterment has been the most important cause of immigration. In colonial times there was much suffering in Europe on account of low wages and unemployment, and thousands of people came to America where there was plenty of land, much of which could be had almost for the asking. Good land on the frontier could be secured for a small price or as a gift under the Homestead Act until almost the close of the last century, and multitudes flocked to America to occupy it. The abundance of natural resources caused wages to be much higher than in many European countries—often more than three times as high as those prevailing in southeastern Europe—and many came to take advantage of these wages by permanent or temporary residence.

Sometimes a period of acute distress in Europe like the potato famines of Ireland in 1845 and 1846 caused great numbers to migrate. Periods of great prosperity in the United States have been accompanied by great waves of immigration but in periods of business depressions there have been comparatively few newcomers. The advertisements of steamship companies, propaganda of employers, the glowing accounts written by immigrants to relatives and friends in other countries or given by returning emi-

grants, and the improved economic status of the emigrants who go back, have done much to make millions of people in foreign lands believe America would mean economic betterment for them.

The contract and "padrone" systems have brought over many. In the former, the immigrant before leaving home makes a contract with an employer. The employer agrees to provide transportation and the immigrant to certain terms of employment. In the "padrone" system a person—usually an immigrant who has been in this country some time—has charge of a group of immigrants and directs their activity. This system has existed widely among Italians. A very large number of our immigrants have a position promised before leaving their native land, and large



POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE IN THE UNITED STATES

Show the relation of density of population to immigration. What are some of the principal economic, social and political effects of an increasing density of population?

numbers have tickets prepaid by relatives, friends, or recruiting agents here.

Many immigrants have come for political reasons. The Scotch-Irish in the eighteenth century, the Germans after the Revolution of 1848, and the Russians and Armenians during the latter part of the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth century fled from persecutions and tyrannical governments. Many have come because they believed they could have a voice in the making of the laws. Some have come to escape military service.

In colonial times some were sent by the governments of Europe as a punishment for crime or to build colonial empires. The Pilgrims at Plymouth, Catholics in Maryland, Quakers in Pennsylvania, French Huguenots in the Carolinas, Palatines, Jews from Russia and Roumania, and Christians from Armenia came largely because of religious persecutions. Many have come to join relatives and friends.

Number and composition. No official records were made of immigration before 1820 but good authorities have estimated that 250,000 immigrants came between the close of the Revolution and that date. In 1820, 8,385 came and the annual number has varied from 6,354 in 1823 to 1,285,349 in 1907. The entire number from 1820 to 1927 was 36,933,379. In 1842 the hundred thousand mark was reached for the first time when 104,565 came, and in 1905 the one million mark when 1,026,499 came.

There have been violent fluctuations in the immigrant stream due to economic troubles, wars, or other disturbances. Since the quota law of 1924 we have received about three hundred thousand immigrants annually.

For some years previous to the World War the emigrant aliens averaged about 300,000 a year or approximately one third of our immigration during those years. The quota restrictions have checked emigration and the annual number of emigrants has not reached 100,000 since 1922.

In 1920 there were 13,712,754 foreign-born white persons in the United States. There were in addition 22,686,204 white persons of foreign or mixed parentage. Only 58,421,957 of our 105,710,620 population were native white of native parentage.

The source of our colonial immigration is shown by the census of 1790. An examination of the names of the heads of families in the first census indicates that the white population in 1790 was divided in the proportion following: English 83.5 per cent, Scotch 6.7 per cent, German 5.6 per cent, Dutch 2 per cent, Irish 1.6 per cent, French .5 per cent, Hebrews less than .1 per cent, all others .1 per cent.

The number of immigrants from Ireland and Germany was so great just before 1850 that in that year 42.8 per cent of our foreign-born were Irish and 26 per cent Germans. In that same year the Italians constituted only .02 per cent of our foreign-born, the Russians .01 per cent and the people from Austria-Hungary less than .01 per cent. Ireland, Germany and England sent us approximately 4,100,000 of the 4,966,875 immigrants who came between 1820 and 1860; Russia, Poland and Italy less than 17,000.

The most radical and significant change in the composition of immigrants commenced about 1880. Before that date fully 95 per cent of our European immigrants came from the countries of northern and western Europe. Since 1880 only one fourth have come from those countries. In 1882, 67.8 per cent of our immigration came from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries, while only 10.5 per cent came from Russia, Italy and Austria-Hungary. By 1907 only 21.9 per cent were from northern and western Europe, while 74.4 per cent were from southern and eastern Europe. Italy alone sent us 296,414 in 1914, and by 1920 there were more foreign-born persons in the United States from Italy, Russia or Poland than from any other country except Germany.

The new immigrants differ widely from the old. The old immigration was largely Teutonic and Celtic, the new Latin and Slavic. The languages of the older groups were more closely akin to each other than to those of the new groups. The older groups were more closely akin in religion and custom. The standard of living of most of the

Courtesy, Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, California

Immigrant from Mexico Gathering Fruit

Immigrant labor is now a big factor in the development of the fruit groves of southern California.

new immigrants is below that of the old and there is a much larger percentage of unskilled workers and illiteracy among them.

Fewer of the new immigrants bring their families and expect to remain permanently. The new have shown less capacity for and have had less practice in self-government. It is generally believed that it is harder—perhaps much harder—to assimilate the new immigrant.

Mexican immigration deserves and is beginning to receive much attention. In 1920 there were 478,383 Mexicans

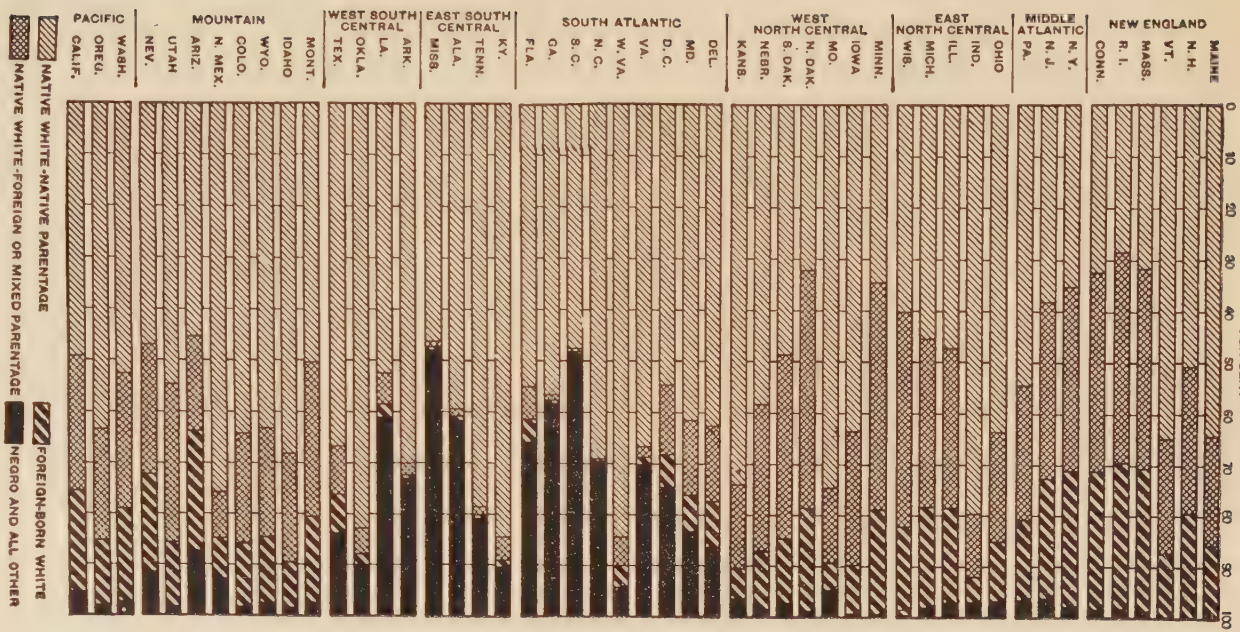
in the United States, mostly in southern California, Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. In 1914 only 13,089 came, but ten years later 87,648 entered. With the tide of cheap labor from Europe and Asia cut off by law there is grave danger of large numbers of Mexicans entering. The Mexicans who are coming are largely unskilled, illiterate, work more cheaply than the Japanese and have a low standard and plane of living.

Distribution. The immigration problem is more acute because there is an uneven distribution of immigrants between geographic divisions of our country and between rural district and city.

Slave labor, free negro labor and lack of industrial development have kept the South largely free from immigration until the last decade. Eighty-eight per cent of the immigrants who came in 1907 went to the North Atlantic and North Central states. In 1920 the foreign-born white population constituted 25.3 per cent of the population in New England, 22.1 per cent in the Middle Atlantic states, 18.6 per cent in the Pacific states, 15 per cent in the East North Central states, 13.6 per cent in the Mountain states, 10.9 per cent in the West North Central states, 4.5 per cent in the West South Central states, 2.3 per cent in the South Atlantic states, and .8 per cent in the East South Central states. The center of foreign-born population in 1920 was near New Haven, Indiana.

There was significant shifting of the foreign-born population between 1910 and 1920. During that period the foreign-born population increased 31.7 per cent in the West South Central states, 20 per cent in the Pacific states, 8.7 per cent in the South Atlantic states, and a smaller increase in all other sections, except the East South Central and West North Central states, where there was a decrease of 17.2 per cent and 15 per cent respectively.

In a fifth of the states the foreign-born population consti-



Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, BY STATES, 1920

tutes almost 30 per cent of the white population. In 1920 the native white of native parentage constituted only 28.7 per cent of the white population in Rhode Island, 31.8 per cent in Massachusetts, 31.2 per cent in North Dakota and 38.8 per cent in New Jersey. More than half the residents of some of the states are either foreign-born or have foreign-born parents. The states which received the largest number of the immigrants who arrived in 1927 were, in the order named, New York, Texas, Michigan, California, Massachusetts and Illinois. These six states received more than two thirds of those who arrived.

Three fourths of our foreign-born live in cities. One person out of every five in our cities is foreign-born. Foreign-born white persons constituted 22.6 per cent of our urban population in 1910 and 19.1 per cent in 1920. The percentage of foreign-born in many cities is much greater than this. In 1920 the foreign-born white population constituted 40.4 per cent of the entire population in New York, 31.9 per cent in Boston, 30.1 per cent in Cleveland, 29.8 per cent in Chicago, 29.1 per cent in Detroit and 27.7 per cent in San Francisco. Only 1,164,834 of New York City's 5,620,048 inhabitants were native white of native parentage.

The new immigrants concentrate in cities to a greater extent than the old. The number of the foreign-born increased 9 per cent in the cities and decreased 12 per cent in the rural districts between 1910 and 1920.

Eugenic problem. The eugenic problem is the most fundamental one involved in immigration and has received too little attention. Much of the culture of a person may change quickly but the biological and psychological traits last through the ages.

The government has eliminated directly a few who are clearly unfit, such as the feeble-minded and epileptic, and has doubtless eliminated many of the biologically and psychologically unfit by refusing entrance to those likely

to become public charges and the illiterates. No serious attempt, however, has been made to select from those who wish to come the ones best suited to be the parents of future generations. The problem is principally a psychological one, and for that reason is hard to deal with as it is necessary to know what psychological traits are desirable and to perfect psychological measurements to the point where we can measure those traits.

There are three fundamental questions involved: Are the racial groups from which our immigrants are coming equal in inborn ability to the people of the United States? Are we getting persons who are equal to, or above, the average of the groups from which they come? Is the mixture of racial types, even when both types are white, a good thing? If any one of these questions is answered in the negative, immigration—at least very much of it—is detrimental to our racial stock.

We have too few data to be able to answer any of these questions positively. Many of the new immigrants come from groups that have shown very little capacity for self-government. Is their deficiency racial? Very many students of immigration believe the majority of the immigrants we get are below the average of the groups from which they come and emigrate because they cannot meet successfully competition from their more able countrymen.

The fact that the birth rate among immigrants is much higher than among native-born makes the problem even more important. Perhaps the day is not far distant when we shall apply effective tests, principally mental, to determine who shall come, instead of letting the matter be decided mainly by the order in which they arrive.

Economic problem. Immigrants have helped mightily in our wonderful industrial expansion since the Civil War. In some of our basic industries they have constituted half the labor force. Coal mining, steel manufacturing, garment

making and many other industries have depended largely on foreign-born labor.

The great majority of recent immigrants have been unskilled, and much of our most disagreeable and poorly-paid labor has been done by them. The increasing use of machinery has made possible the profitable employment of an ever increasing number of the unskilled.

We are saved the expense of rearing most of these laborers as four fifths of the immigrants are between the ages of fourteen and forty-five and can commence producing immediately.

There is, however, another side to the picture. Many of the new immigrant groups come from countries where the standard of living and plane of living are much lower than in America and will more readily accept a lower plane of living than the American workman.

The financial condition of the majority of immigrants when they arrive is such that they must secure work quickly. Most immigrants show their money to immigrant officials—those bringing less than $50 are required to declare how much they have—and for some years before the World War the money shown averaged less than $50 per immigrant. Since the War the amount has been somewhat more than $100.

The large number of immigrants flooding the market for unskilled labor and the willingness of large numbers to work for very low wages make it extremely difficult for American labor to maintain a reasonably high wage rate. The immigrant—especially the unmarried one—can move readily and is often used as a strike-breaker as well as a threat in time of industrial peace. The immigrants who have been here years average a lower wage rate than native labor, and the new immigrants a lower wage rate than those who have been here longer.

The large proportion of the wives and daughters in

immigrant families who work depresses wages. The family of the native-born is more apt to have only one member working. The old immigrants were better acquainted with labor union activity and joined the American unions, but the new immigrants have, with a few notable exceptions, been very slow to unite with and support unions.

The "padrone" system among the Italians and others has done much to restrict the freedom of immigrants and there has been much driving which has brought mental and physical disorders. Many severe accidents have occurred because workmen were unable to read instructions, and the person who cannot read English often subjects his fellow workmen as well as himself to serious danger. There has been some segregation as native workmen sometimes refuse to work with certain foreign groups.

The $150,000,000 or more that is sent to other countries annually by immigrants is lost to us. It is doubtful if we relieve the congestion in Europe, for the birth rate probably rises there until it just about fills the places made vacant by those who emigrate. Immigration doubtless decreases the birth rate of those groups of native Americans who must compete with the immigrant economically.

Social problem. The social problem centers about such important subjects as poverty, crime, health, mental disorders, education, family life, proportion of the sexes, prohibition, segregation and the foreign language press.

The proportion of foreign-born who receive relief or live in almshouses is somewhat larger than the proportion of native-born who receive such aid. This dependency both creates a financial burden and tends toward the creation or perpetuation of other undesirable conditions.

The criminal record of the immigrant is about the same as that of the native-born. The children of immigrants, however, show a much greater disposition to commit crime. Probably this is largely due to the difficulty of changing

from the old environment and social controls to the new. The immigrants from some countries commit far more crimes than those from other countries. Is there a racial distribution of crime in your community?

The immigrants complicate the problem of health. They frequently are guilty of overcrowding, especially in the down-town districts of cities. A large proportion have unsanitary or even filthy homes which cause them far less concern than the day's wage. It is often difficult to get them to obey quarantine rules.

The insanity rate of immigrants is very high. This may be due to a considerable extent to the difficulties of adjusting themselves to the new environment. Some are undoubtedly defective mentally when they enter the country as the officials who have to examine hurriedly so many thousands cannot detect all the mentally defective.

The immigration from southern and eastern Europe has a far higher rate of illiteracy than the old immigration, but the literacy test required since 1917 has been barring a large number of illiterates. Some progress is being made by the education of the adult immigrant. There is a very small percentage of illiteracy among the children of immigrants.

The fact that so many immigrant mothers and older children work and leave the young children in the care of children just below the working age limit, or let them rove at will through the streets, does not promote normal family life. The disproportion of the sexes due to the large immigration of men creates an abnormal situation. The overcrowding in the tenement districts does not promote good morals. The efforts to enforce prohibition in many communities have been retarded by the foreign-born, among whom the sentiment for prohibition seems to be much weaker than among the native-born.

The immigrants from some nationalities tend to become

segregated in sections of the city where the customs and languages of the countries from which they came are perpetuated. "Little Italy" or "Little Poland" is a kind of immigrant colony that serves as a way station from the old land to a full participation in American life, but its existence in the midst of an American city creates grave social problems. The foreign language press affects the immigrant colony and keeps alive some of the old traditions.

In many communities—perhaps one might say in most communities—there is little social intercourse between native-born and foreign-born persons. This creates an undesirable division, and, in so far as the native-born think the immigrants below them socially, there is created a caste system supported in large measure by public opinion. Some of our industrial towns are divided into three sections: the native-born white, the foreign-born white, and the negro.

Political problem. Many of the recent immigrants have come from countries where there is very little real self-government, and are not accustomed to exercising intelligently most of the privileges and fulfilling the duties of a citizen in a democracy. It is extremely difficult to train these people to vote intelligently as many of them are not familiar with either the issues or political practices.

Many can read little or no English and find it difficult even to discuss political affairs. Prior to 1917 it was often true that one fourth or more of those entering could not read any language. The immigrants from some countries are generally not in a position to appreciate the merits of progressive legislation.

The divisions and distrusts of different European countries persist in America to a considerable extent and the groups from different countries find it hard to coöperate in political life as in other things. There is not the degree

of like-mindedness necessary for the most successful political life. The existence of so many immigrant groups in our cities goes far to explain the power of the ward politician or other political boss. The skillful politician is able to balance group against group and, by preventing united action, force his will upon all the groups.

It was a common practice earlier to grant citizenship to large numbers of foreign-born on the eve of election to secure their votes. Officials and candidates for office are frequently influenced by the vote of foreign-born people and may find it to their advantage to act, or promise to act, so that a group will be pleased, whether or not the action is good for the country.

A very large proportion of our political radicals are foreign-born. Too often their radicalism is the result of dissatisfaction with their economic condition and a blind reaching out after anything that promises relief, rather than the result of a rational analysis of the questions involved.

Immigration affects international politics. The immigrant is almost sure to continue to have affection for his native land, and this tends to affect public opinion in his new home. Sometimes serious international friction is the result of immigration, as was true when the Mafia incident in New Orleans made Italy protest vigorously, and the laws affecting Orientals made large numbers of the Japanese feel we had treated them unjustly.

Our legal policy. For more than a century the National Government scarcely noticed immigration. It passed a law to improve steerage conditions in 1819 and encouraged immigration during the Civil War so that production could be maintained while the War was in progress.

There had been much agitation for a restrictive policy by the Native American and Know-Nothing parties before the Civil War. Criminals and immoral women were ex-

cluded in 1875. The labor unions about the same time were beginning to protest vigorously against the bringing in of foreign-born laborers. The Supreme Court in 1876 declared the state immigration laws unconstitutional and suggested Congress pass suitable legislation.

In 1882 a head tax of fifty cents was imposed and lunatics, idiots, persons likely to become public charges, and Chinese laborers were excluded. The head tax is now eight dollars and restrictions have been extended to include imbeciles, feeble-minded, epileptics, persons with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease or chronic alcoholism, professional beggars, vagrants, those coming in consequence of advertisements, contract laborers, assisted aliens, stowaways, polygamists, persons under sixteen years of age unless accompanied by parent, and anarchists. Bills requiring literacy test were vetoed by Presidents Cleveland, Taft and Wilson. In 1917 such a bill was passed over the President's veto.

The agitation during and just after the World War concerning hyphenated Americans prepared the way for the per centum limit laws of 1921 and 1924. The law of 1921 provided that each country might send three per cent of the number of people from that country who were here in 1910, and the law of 1924 reduced the number to two per cent and, in order to reduce the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, based the quota on the census of 1890. The law of 1924 excluded the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Hindus and all other peoples who are ineligible to citizenship. Each nationality was permitted a minimum of a hundred immigrants. The total number of persons admissible each year from the nations subject to quota restriction was 357,803 under the law of 1921, and 164,667 under the law of 1924.

The law of 1924 provides: "The annual quota of any nationality for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1927, and

for each fiscal year thereafter, shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in Continental United States in 1920 having that national origin (ascertained as hereinafter provided in this section) bears to the number of inhabitants in Continental United States in 1920, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100." This gives the leading nations which are subject to quota restrictions approximately the annual quota following: Great Britain and Northern Ireland 73,039, Germany 23,428, Irish Free State 13,862, Italy 6,091, Poland 4,978, Russia 4,781, France 3,837, Sweden 3,259, Netherlands 2,421, Norway 2,267, Czechoslovakia 2,248, Austria 1,486, Switzerland 1,198, Denmark 1,044. Congress extended the time for the beginning of these new quotas to July 1, 1929.

The effect of the quota laws is shown by the fact that in 1926, 41.5 per cent of immigrants were from northern and western and 9.6 per cent from southern and eastern Europe, 29.9 per cent from Canada, 14.2 per cent from Mexico and 4.8 per cent from other countries, compared to the 1914 distribution of 20.8 per cent from northern and western Europe, 75.6 per cent from southern and eastern Europe and 3.6 per cent from other countries.

The quota restrictions have never applied to Canada or the countries of Central and South America.

Administration of laws. The administration of the immigration laws presents many difficult problems. The administration should be both effective and humane. A Bureau of Immigration under the direction of the Commissioner General of Immigration in the Department of Labor is in active control of the administrative work.

Each immigrant on arriving at an immigration station must answer many questions and submit to a physical and mental examination. The immigrant has the right of appeal from the decision of the examiner and the case

may finally reach the Secretary of Labor whose decision is final, as there is no judicial review. The steamship company which brings a rejected applicant must return him to the port of embarkation.

The recent law permitting only ten per cent of the quota of any nationality to enter in any month has done much to promote a more thorough examination. Visas are now issued abroad. Each visa is a guarantee to the person

Courtesy, Bureau of Immigration

Border Patrol at El Paso, Texas

holding it that the quota of his, or her, nationality has not been filled. We have begun keeping special immigration advisers and medical examiners at some of the consulates abroad and this has caused a marked decrease in the number of rejections at the ports of entry.

The border patrol, consisting of some eight hundred men, began in 1924 to patrol the Canadian and Mexican borders and, to some extent, the coast of the Gulf of Mexico—six thousand miles in all. It has extended its activities to the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Each year millions of miles are traveled, millions of persons ques-

tioned, thousands of aliens turned back and hundreds of alien smugglers captured. The patrol was rendered necessary by the quota restrictions.

The Secretary of Labor recently wrote of those entering illegally: "They come from all directions and by all means of transportation. They are huddled in the dark holds of smugglers' vessels which ply from the islands of the Caribbean Sea with illicit rum or vile narcotic drugs. They steal across our vast expanse of land border; they come by railroad, by automobile, and by airplane. The smuggled alien means no good to America. What kind of an American can we develop out of the individual whose first acquaintance with America comes through defiance of our law and contempt for our authority?"

A few thousand a year are deported but the others, hundreds of thousands in number, remain. President Coolidge recommended at the opening of the Sixty-eighth Congress that all aliens in the United States be required to enroll. This would be the quickest and by far the easiest way to detect those who have entered illegally.

America's best. America, as well as the immigrant, has certain obligations to fulfill. America rightly expects much of the immigrant, and the immigrant who is willing to give America much has a right to expect much in return.

Thousands of immigrants see the worst side of our American life so much, and the best side of it so seldom, that they think the things which are worst are the real America. Formerly the immigrant *en route* was frequently the victim of some one who took advantage of his, or her, ignorance, but much progress has been made by the National Government, some of the state governments and private philanthropic organizations to see that the newcomer reaches his destination safely. The immigrant is often thrown with groups whose ideals are low and conduct rough. He is frequently driven during his working

hours by a foreman whose manner suggests an ox-driver. The employment manager of one of the largest manufacturing plants in New York, as he refused a position to a native American, remarked to the writer, "The less like a man and the more like a mule a man is, the better qualified he is to do the work required of unskilled laborers in this factory."

Frequently the newcomer is forced on account of low wages to live in unsanitary houses, and eat unwholesome food. The remarks recently made by Congressman A. J. Griffin are suggestive: "It is futile to try to make men loyal to an adopted country until you make them contented. . . . So long as you treat them as foreigners, they are going to be foreigners." The places of recreation and amusement that they frequent are often vicious. Both adults and children are affected.

How often does some one speak of a "Dago," "Polack," or "Greaser" in a tone which is meant, even as the term itself, to suggest something inferior! In so far as the most desirable native-born groups are closed to him, the immigrant either associates with less desirable native-born groups—the criminal and vicious, perhaps—or associates with the foreign-born like himself, thus retarding Americanization.

Large numbers of immigrants have always come in contact primarily with the more wholesome and desirable parts of American life, and these contacts have meant much to them and to America. Self-interest as well as the spirit of helpfulness should lead us to bring to a much larger number of immigrants the high ideals, noble aspirations and wholesome life that represent the best America has to offer. Perhaps these things will mean little to many of those who come, but it will call forth a response on the part of many others that will make them much happier and much better citizens.

Questions on the Text

1. Enumerate the causes of immigration.
2. Show by means of statistics how the number of immigrants has increased.
3. Contrast the old immigration with the new.
4. Show the distribution of immigrants by geographic division. Between rural district and city.
5. Discuss three fundamental questions involved in the eugenic problem.
6. Compare the desirable and undesirable economic results.
7. Discuss immigration in relation to poverty; crime; health; mental diseases; education; family life; prohibition; segregation.
8. What dangers to our political life lie in immigration?
9. Outline our legal policy before the World War. Since the World War.
10. What are some new administrative features of our immigration laws?
11. Contrast the worst and best features of the life of an American community.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What causes have sent us most of our immigrants since the World War?
2. Secure from an annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration more detailed statistics.
3. Study the immigration of one national group.
4. How can we secure better distribution of immigrants?
5. What biological differences are there between the Nordic and Mediterranean divisions of the white race? How have the differences manifested themselves in history?
6. Was unrestricted immigration too high a price to pay for our rapid industrial development?
7. What effect has immigration on the social life of your community?
8. What can be done to secure greater political harmony between the different immigrant groups?
9. Write an essay on "Our Border Patrol."

10. Interview an immigrant as to the treatment he has received in America, and his feeling toward America.

11. Report on the life of an immigrant who became prominent in our national life.

12. Would an immigrant's love for his native land tend to make him love America less?

13. Study the Americanization program of some community or organization and make out your own program.

14. *Resolved:* That our per centum law should apply to all the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

15. *Resolved:* That our per centum law should be repealed.

16. *Resolved:* That we should require aliens to enroll.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE RACE PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM: Each race has its characteristics. What are the chief characteristics of the white, the negro, the Indian and the yellow races? How can each race develop its characteristics most advantageously? What part should each play in developing our American civilization? In what way can we secure a minimum of friction and a maximum of coöperation?

A world problem. Since Europe at the close of the fifteenth century commenced her modern colonial expansion, the white race has extended its control until it governs directly eight ninths of the habitable land of the globe. The increased transportation facilities and commercial interests are multiplying racial contacts many fold.

The improving economic and social condition of many of the subject peoples is making them increasingly restive under the control of the white race. Japan has taken her place in the front rank of the nations and China, the giant of the East, is receiving more consideration as she demands a right to control her own destiny.

There are more than 500,000,000 members of the white race, over 600,000,000 Mongolians, somewhat less than 400,000,000 members of the brown race and about 200,000,000 negroes. Can the different races settle their differences peaceably and satisfactorily?

The United States is a gigantic laboratory in which there is being worked out the most important experiment in race contacts the world has ever seen. Multitudes from the different white racial types are thrown with each other and with millions of negroes, hundreds of thousands of Indians and many Mongolians. The population of the United States in 1920 was composed of 94,820,915 whites,

10,463,131 negroes, 244,437 Indians, 111,010 Japanese, 61,637 Chinese, 5,603 Filipinos, 2,507 Hindus, 1,224 Koreans, 110 Hawaiians, 19 Malays, 17 Siamese, 6 Samoans and 2 Maoris.

The negro: racial heritage. The very black Guinea negro, the browner tribes farther north, and the fierce tribes of the interior of Africa were forced to contribute to the stream of slaves that the colonial slave traders dragged into America. The negro has certain psychological as well as physiological traits which distinguish him from the other races of mankind. Whether these differences are due to inborn, permanent biological differences or are the result of physical and social environment and would cease to exist if all races had the same environment we do not know.

The negro in his native home was good-humored, superstitious, emotional and, like other natives of the tropics, indolent and thoughtless. It was not necessary that he take much thought for the morrow, for nature gives abundant return in the tropics for little labor. His experience as a slave tended to perpetuate his thoughtlessness for the future. His master provided food, clothing and shelter, and he could expect little beyond this in any case. He has retained most of his old characteristics in his new environment.

In Africa his culture was primitive and that probably explains in part his relationship to our more complex civilized life. His emancipation and acquisition of citizenship and political rights as a result of the Civil War found him unprepared to function properly economically, politically or socially.

Number and distribution. This study, like the Census reports, classes as negroes all persons with any negro blood. In 1790 the negro population was 19.3 per cent of the entire population. By 1920 the per cent was 9.9. This

decreased proportion was greatly influenced by the fact that the white population had been increased by large numbers of immigrants.

The birth rate and death rate are both higher than is true of whites. The infant mortality rate among negroes is shocking. Concentration in cities doubtless has something to do with the fact that the negroes in the North are not maintaining themselves, and would tend to disappear but for migrations from the South. Since 1920 many have entered from the West Indies. The number, rate of increase, and shifting of population between 1900 and 1920 are shown in the table following:

NEGRO POPULATION

	NUMBER			PER CENT INCREASE	
	1920	1910	1900	1910–1920	1900–1910
Total	10,463,131	9,827,763	8,833,994	6.5	11.2
The South	8,912,231	8,749,427	7,922,969	1.9	10.4
The North	1,472,309	1,027,674	880,771	43.3	16.7
The West	78,591	50,662	30,254	55.1	67.5

The negroes outnumber the whites in Mississippi and South Carolina, and constitute more than a fourth of the population in other states in the Black Belt—the sections with the largest percentage of negro population—of the South. In one county in Mississippi the negroes outnumber the whites nine to one.

A great migration northward across the Mason and Dixon line took place during the World War to meet the increased demand for industrial workers, and another important stream started northward about 1923 following our first per centum immigration law. The negro population increased 71 per cent in the East North Central states between 1910 and 1920 and decreased 4.9 per cent in the East South Central states.

The cityward movement of negroes has become very pronounced, especially in the North. In 1900, 22.7 per cent

of the negroes lived in cities. In 1910 the number had increased to 27.3 per cent and in 1920 to 34 per cent. The Census reported 239,308 fewer negroes in rural districts in 1910 than in 1920, although this was partly due to the fact that the number of our cities had increased. Four fifths of the northern negroes live in cities, and four fifths of the southern in the rural districts.

Six cities—New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Baltimore and New Orleans—have a negro population of more than 100,000. Chicago had nearly two and one half times as many negroes in 1920 as in 1910. More than half the population of Charleston, Jacksonville, Montgomery and other southern cities are negroes. City life has decreased the birth rate and increased the death rate so that the cityward movement means a considerable check on the size of the negro population.

Economic status. The majority of negro men and negro women are engaged in agriculture. This is largely due to the fact that the South, the home of the negro, is still chiefly agricultural.

A large proportion have become farm operators and nearly one fourth of these own the farms they operate. Some of the tenants pay the owner money rent and are free to manage the farms as they please so long as they do no permanent damage to the farm and follow any conditions which have been agreed on as to the amount of each crop which may be grown.

The great majority of the negro tenants, however, are croppers. The owner furnishes the land, tools and seed; the tenant furnishes the labor. The crop is usually divided equally between owner and tenant, but in the growing of some crops the tenant gets only a third. Because his interest in securing a fruitful yield is as great as the tenant's, the landlord usually exercises much control and insists that certain conditions be met. The negro is gener-

ally too poor to support himself or pay any additional help in the busy season, so must secure advances from the landlord on the growing crop. The conditions of the advances depend largely on the landlord, especially as so many of the negroes keep no books.

Courtesy, T. Hope Cawthon and Chamber of Commerce, Walton County, Florida

HARVESTING SWEET POTATOES IN FLORIDA

Negro women as well as negro men constitute a large part of the agricultural labor force of the South.

The negro is found in large numbers in practically all of the unskilled, heavy work of the South. Many are going to the mining and manufacturing centers.

Before the Civil War the negroes were the skilled laborers of the South and continued to be so for some time during Reconstruction, but gradually the whites took over the skilled work. Many of the negroes who went North during the World War entered the skilled trades, and there is evidence that they have made some progress in them. Their position is complicated by the fact that many unions —including the important railway brotherhoods—do not

admit negroes. The American Federation of Labor permits many negro groups to join the Federation without being members of national unions. Tuskegee Institute, Hampton and other schools are doing much to train the negro for agriculture and the skilled trades.

Large numbers are engaged in domestic work and personal service. An increasing number are becoming teach-

Courtesy, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

A CLASS IN FOODS AT TUSKEGEE

Would you expect domestic science education to reduce the high infant mortality rate among negroes? To increase both the productivity and wages of those who receive the education? To increase the wages of agricultural laborers by decreasing the number of negro women in agriculture?

ers, doctors and members of many other professions, but are patronized chiefly by members of their own race.

The great majority of negroes are poor. The proportion who are paupers is very large.

This poverty is partly due to the fact that few negroes had either land or capital when they became free. It is partly due to lack of education and to social and economic discrimination. Much of it, however, is due to the characteristics of the negro. A very large proportion will not try to save when there is an opportunity to do so: they will

squander money on trifles when work is plentiful and wages high, and suffer through the winter or dull season unless the suffering is prevented by some kind-hearted individual or charitable agency.

Many negroes are learning to save and the amount of property—mostly land and live stock—which they own is increasing rapidly.

The negro's social conduct is greatly affected by his economic condition. His poverty is apt to force him to live where rents are low and, as a result, a very large proportion live in the slums where the moral atmosphere is extremely bad and crime and vice are much more prevalent than in the other sections of the cities. Negro leaders feel that it is only fair to judge the negro's conduct in the light of the environment forced upon him.

Political status. The negro slave had no political privileges and few civil rights. Even the free negroes of the North were not permitted to vote in more than four states at the opening of the Civil War. The Fourteenth Amendment, which made the negro a citizen, and the Fifteenth, which gave him political rights, were followed by the frightful misuse, under the guidance of carpet-baggers, of his new freedom. The right of suffrage should have been granted gradually as individuals became qualified to use it intelligently.

The whites felt constrained to regain control and for some years there was much intimidation. In 1890 Mississippi provided that only those people might vote who had paid all taxes in full and could read a clause of the state constitution or interpret it when read. This was the beginning of a movement by which the negro was deprived of the ballot by literacy test, taxpaying qualification, property qualification or the use of the famous "grandfather" clause which exempted from other qualifications the descendants of men who could vote before the Civil War.

Texas recently prohibited negroes from voting in primaries, but this law has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The state cannot discriminate between races directly in its suffrage laws, but it can enact a law with provisions that the majority of negroes, but comparatively few whites, will find difficult to meet. Discriminations may be made by the white election boards.

In the Black Belt comparatively few negroes vote, but in the border states of the South where there are many white Republicans the negro votes almost or quite as freely as in the North. Some of the opposition to the education of the negro is due to the fact that education will increase negro suffrage.

The negro does not serve on juries in the South, and is seldom elected to public office. The great mass of negroes seem to accept these discriminations as a matter of course, but some feel them keenly and resent them.

Social status. The family life of the negro in Africa was unstable as is usually true of primitive people. The slave family was often separated by the sale of husband or wife. The negro family today is generally much less stable than the white.

The criminal record of the negro is very bad. Nearly three fourths of the prisoners in the southern states are negroes. There are more negro criminals in the North for each one thousand negro population than in the South. Women constitute a much larger proportion of the criminals among negroes than is true among whites.

The negro presents very serious health problems. The houses are frequently miserable shacks, clothing in winter inadequate, food often scarce and medical attention neglected. This problem is of peculiar interest to all races on account of contagious diseases.

The negro has made rapid strides in education. Few could read or write when they were emancipated. In 1910,

2,227,731 negroes ten years of age and over were illiterate. In 1920 the number had been reduced to 1,842,161. In 1910, 30.4 per cent were illiterate, in 1920, 22.9 per cent. In spite of the great progress made, the negro is still in strong contrast to the white population among whom in 1920 2.5 per cent of the native-born of native parentage, .8 per cent of native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, and 13.1 per cent of foreign-born were illiterate.

In the South the schools for negroes have been poorly equipped, and the teachers poorly paid and poorly qualified. The South is now providing better equipment and the school attendance is increasing.

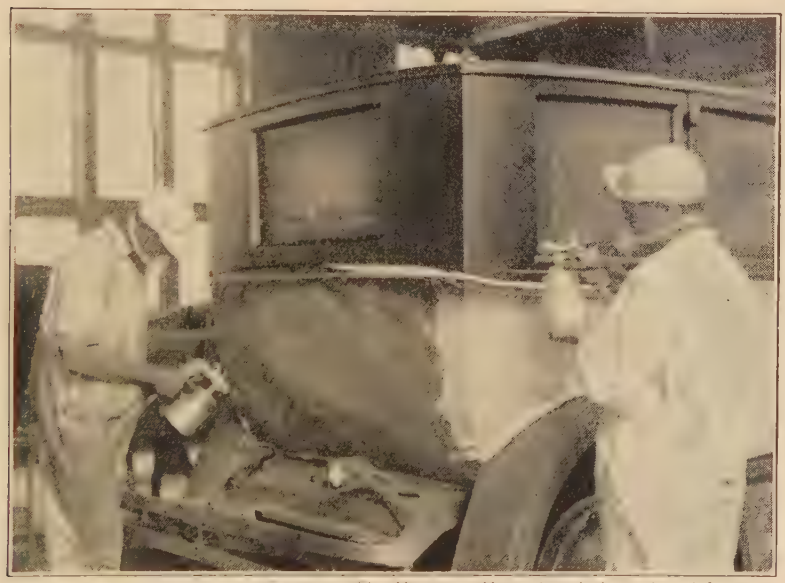
The only segregation in the northern schools is due to the fact that different races inhabit different sections of the city, and the negro child enjoys the same privilege as the white child of the same districts. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations found that the educational facilities provided for the districts of Chicago which were inhabited chiefly by negroes were decidedly inferior to those provided for most of the other districts. The northern negroes made a very much better showing in the army intelligence tests during the World War than those of the South.

It is believed by many educators that the new vocational education will suit the negro better than the older education. Booker T. Washington and other negro leaders have laid great stress on the necessity of the negro's training for industrial efficiency.

Relation with whites. In slavery the negro was forced to submit to the will of his white master, and to look to him for the blessings or curses of life. The owner was forced to consider the physical well-being of the slave and many owners through kindness of heart tried to keep the slave contented and happy.

There was usually a personal attachment between mas-

ter and slave on the plantations which were small enough to permit frequent contact. This personal attachment was one of the big factors in causing the slave to be true to his master during the Civil War. This attachment is very strong in the South today between the well-to-do whites and the negroes. The negroes generally feel a much greater



Courtesy, The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR MEN

Many people think industrial training for the negro the biggest factor in solving our race problem.

respect for the white owner of a large tract of land than for the white manual laborer.

The segregation of races doubtless prevents much friction but gives ground for serious misunderstanding. In the South the segregation is enforced by law and is much more complete than in the North, although differences of race cause much segregation even in the North. Small children scarcely notice differences of race, but older

children of the two races do not play together so harmoniously.

Where an unequal distribution is made of public facilities the negro is frequently discriminated against. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations found that the participation of the negro in public benefits of Chicago was limited.

Since the World War the negro has been quicker to resent real or imaginary injuries and serious race riots have occurred in Washington, Chicago, East St. Louis and Tulsa. The lynching of negroes has done much to arouse resentment as well as fear among them, and the protest of white and black leaders in North and South has been followed by a more determined attempt to stop it. The negro press has grown rapidly and some of the papers have assumed a more belligerent tone. *The Crisis, Chicago Defender* and other papers are doing much to arouse the group consciousness of the negro.

The leaders are beginning to break away from the practice of imitating the whites and are attempting to develop a negro culture. This movement is apt to make great progress if Professor Clark Wissler of Yale University and other scholars are right in believing there is a race element in culture, that is, that certain kinds of culture suit one race better than they suit other races.

According to the Census, mulattoes constituted 11.2 per cent of the negro population in 1850, and 15.9 per cent in 1920. The majority of negro leaders have been mulattoes. Although the mulatto is superior in ability to the negro without white blood he is a serious problem as he is not permitted to associate with whites and is sometimes discriminated against by the black negroes. Frequently he does not like to associate with the black negroes and this isolation is detrimental to the individual and makes social unity more difficult.

The future. Many sociologists believe the negro problem the most important and serious of all American problems. We can undoubtedly secure some improvement—probably much improvement—by handling it wisely. Unless we do act wisely the problem may become far more serious, or even disastrous. The possibilities of good and evil should spur us on to secure as satisfactory conditions as possible. Many suggestions have been offered as solutions of the problem.

Colonization has been advocated for more than a century, but the task of transplanting the ten million people satisfactorily would be an impossible one even if the negroes were willing to go and the whites to have them go.

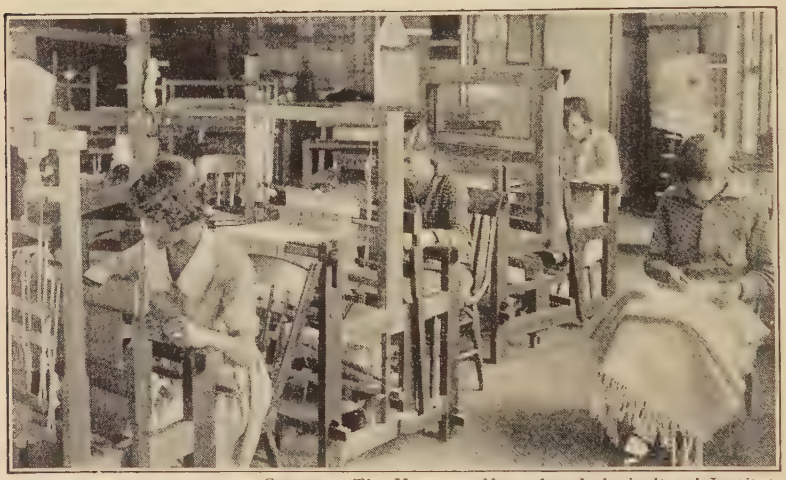
Territorial segregation within the United States has been suggested. There is much segregation now in villages, towns, and cities, but to set apart certain states, counties, cities or other local units for the exclusive use of negroes would raise grave administrative problems. It would also create new and acute lines of friction. Occupational segregation appeals to some, but even if this were economically sound the social and political conditions would probably be as unsatisfactory as before.

The caste system in which the negro would permanently occupy a subordinate position is accepted by a large number of persons as the only possible solution. This system could be justified only on the ground of inborn racial inferiority. Even if it were so justified it would be far from satisfactory.

Many advocate complete equality—social, economic and political—for the two races. But are the races by inborn ability, tradition and training capable of using these equally well? Would there still be conflict because of racial consciousness and prejudice? It would, in any case, be extremely difficult to get a majority of the American people to accept this as a principle of action.

Better education and training—especially industrial—have received much support, and great possibilities for good lie in these sources. These can, however, do away with only a part of the undesirable features of the problem.

Intermarriage has some advocates but the results of a mixture of races is fraught with too grave possibilities for



Courtesy, The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

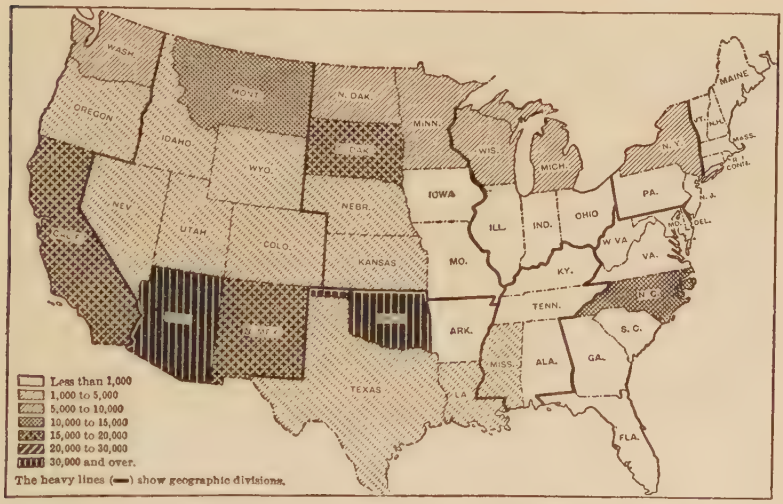
Do you expect negro women to enter the factory in large numbers with the industrial development of the South?

us to attempt it even if each race were willing to lose its racial purity.

Many regard a composite solution as the most helpful one. Those who accept this view believe many kinds of helpful activity could be used to secure more desirable results. The composite method of dealing with the problem is probably the one that offers the most promising line of approach. The problem is so complicated and there are so many things which have to be taken into account that no single solution is possible. The problem varies greatly in different sections of the country, and a policy that would

be very helpful in one community might produce very harmful results in another. Each of us should study the problem as it exists in his, or her, community and do his, or her, share in improving conditions.

The Indian. The Census reported the Indian population to be 248,253 in 1890, 237,196 in 1900, 265,683 in 1910 and 244,437 in 1920. Considerably more than half in 1920 were



Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920

in four states: Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico and California. Oklahoma had almost twice as many Indians as any other state. While most of the Indians are in the West, a few are found in every state, and North Carolina and some other states east of the Mississippi have a considerable number. There are reservations in half the states, a few of these being state reservations.

On account of intermarriage with the whites, and to some extent with the negroes in Oklahoma, the Indian statistics are not very reliable, but it is probable that the Indian population is about stationary. Are we warranted

in accepting the current opinion that, as a result of his contact with civilization, the Indian is dying out?

We must bear in mind the difference between the Indians who have left the reservations, to live among the other races, and those who continue in their tribal relations. The former become a part of the community, intermarry freely with the whites, and doubtless will be

Courtesy, Santa Fé Railway

HOPI INDIAN GIRLS WEAVING BASKETS AT GRAND CANYON

absorbed by the white race. The entire group of Indians will probably give up their tribal relations in time and intermarry with the other races, but in the meantime they present peculiar problems.

The establishment of reservations by the Federal Government was begun in 1786, but the reservation system was not well organized until a century ago. In 1871 Congress established the principle that no more treaties were to be made with Indians. By the Dawes Act of 1887 and the

Burke Act of 1906 the acquisition of citizenship and ownership of land by the individual Indian were provided for. Citizenship, which Congress in 1924 gave to all native-born Indians who were not already citizens, will help develop them politically.

The Indian reservations contain 35,706,602 acres. A plot of ground is assigned to each family in the great majority of cases so that each individual will have an incentive

Courtesy, the Indian Office

THRESHING WHEAT ON THE FLATHEAD RESERVATION, MONTANA

to cultivate the soil effectively. They are forced to depend on agriculture rather than hunting for a living. The Osage tribe and some other Indians were made very wealthy by the discovery of oil on their lands. They are rapidly adopting the dress, food and manners of civilization.

Education and public health work are doing much for them. Organized teaching of home making has been extended to all Government schools with junior and senior high grades and to many elementary schools. The parents were once reluctant to send their children to school but are now glad to do so. The industrial training received at

Carlisle and other schools is a helpful factor in the lives of many Indians. The Federal Government has some 200 schools, and medical service with hospitals for the Indians. A field matron service protects their social well-being.

More than half the 67,000 Indian children who attend school are enrolled in the state public school systems, and the state health officials of many states are coöperating actively in a campaign to stamp out trachoma and other

Courtesy, the Indian Office

HARVEST TIME

Two students of the Indian School at Chilocco, Oklahoma, at work on the school farm.

infectious diseases. It is probable that the Indian problem must be taken over eventually by the states. The state and local governments are probably in a better position to deal with the specific requirements of the Indian than the Federal Government that seems so far away.

The Asiatics: their coming. The civilization of some of the Asiatic countries is very old, the population dense, and the desire for economic betterment has sent many Asiatics to the United States. The Chinese commenced to come in the fifties on account of the discovery of gold

in California and by 1860 there were 34,933 here. Thousands of coolies were imported to work on the Central Pacific Railroad and when the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869 many entered various industries in competition with white labor. Forty thousand Chinese came in 1882 making the total number in the country about 130,000.

In that year Congress made the Chinese Exclusion Law which suspended for ten years all immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled and unskilled. The law did not include teachers, students, merchants, travelers, government officials, and the wives and minor children of these classes. This became our permanent policy. The table following shows that the policy of exclusion has had the desired effect of reducing the number of Chinese.

NUMBER IN THE UNITED STATES

Date	Chinese	Japanese
1870	63,199	55
1880	105,465	149
1890	107,488	2,039
1900	89,863	24,326
1910	71,531	72,157
1920	61,639	111,010

But for the exclusion policy it is probable that hundreds of thousands would now be in the United States. Several thousand members of the exempted classes enter each year and there has been some smuggling. Considerably more than half the Chinese are in California, Oregon and Washington; the number in California alone was 28,812 in 1920 in spite of the fact that the percentage in that state has fallen rapidly since 1880. There have been so few Chinese women among the immigrants that only 7,748 females were here in 1920, and there has been little increase by birth.

It was a half century after Perry in 1853 opened the island kingdom of Japan to the world that the Japanese

commenced to come to this country in considerable numbers. At first they were received more readily than the Chinese, but the agitation which soon arose against them led to the making of the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907 by which the Japanese Government agreed to refuse passports to laborers.

The concentration of Japanese in California led that state to pass the alien land acts of 1913 and 1920 which gave rise to some international friction. In 1920, 93,490 of the 111,010 Japanese were in the Pacific states, 71,952 of whom

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BEFORE THE DAYS OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

The picture is less than two decades old, but a majority of these Chinese immigrants are wearing the pigtail and native dress. These externals can be discarded immediately, but how long do you think it takes to Americanize Asiatics? Are you convinced that most of the Asiatics can be Americanized? What changes are involved in such Americanization?

were in California. Many "picture brides"—women who gain entrance to the country by pretending they have just married men living in the United States and are on the way to join their husbands—and other women have come recently and in 1920 one person out of every thirteen born in California was a Japanese.

Courtesy of, and copyright by, Press Publishing Company (New York World)

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS READING A BULLETIN BOARD

Should we make it easier for Asiatic immigrants to come in contact with and appreciate the various parts of American culture?

The exclusion of the Japanese and other Asiatics, along with the Chinese, under the law of 1924 brought much satisfaction to the states of the Far West. Students, merchants included in treaty agreements, and a few others are still permitted to enter.

The Hindus, most of whom have come in from British Columbia, have a lower standard of living than Chinese or Japanese, and will raise serious problems if their numbers increase to any extent. The thousands of Filipino

immigrants suggest the possibility of heavy immigration from the Philippines. The Korean immigration has been stopped in time to prevent a serious problem, if our policy of exclusion continues.

Their significance. The Asiatics differ from us in race, language, and, to a large extent, in custom and religion. They live by themselves and are hard to assimilate. Their standard of living and plane of living are low. They accept low wages and work long hours. A very large percentage of those we get are coolies.

The Chinese are found in large numbers in agriculture, personal and domestic service, railroad construction, laundering, fish canning and lumbering. Four fifths of them in 1920 lived in cities.

Many Japanese are agriculturists, traders, section hands, servants and lumberers. The Japanese are more aggressive than the Chinese and have gained control of many garden products in some of the best sections of California. The gardener, with his wife and children, often works twelve or fourteen hours a day, Sundays and holidays included.

The illiteracy rate of Mongolians is high. The fact that members of that race cannot secure American citizenship except by birth means that the immigrants can never acquire suffrage privileges. So long as the Asiatics tend to lower the plane of living of groups of Americans, or we deny them citizenship, it is the part of wisdom to refuse them admittance. It should be made perfectly plain, however, that our policy is not based on the assumption of racial superiority. Aside from the international friction such an assumption would cause, we should bear in mind that we have no proof that this is true. Immigrants should be a strong force in developing international friendships and binding nations in helpful neighborliness. Is this true of our Asiatic immigration?

Questions on the Text

1. Compare the size of the racial groups in the United States.
2. What is the significance of the items in the table showing negro population?
3. What occupations have most negroes?
4. Trace the history of the negro's suffrage privileges.
5. Discuss the relation of the negro to crime; to health; to education; to segregation.
6. What change is taking place in the attitude of the negroes toward the whites?
7. Criticize each of the ways which have been suggested for dealing with the negro problem.
8. Discuss the Indians as to number.
9. What changes are taking place in life on the reservations?
10. Outline the coming of the Chinese. The Japanese.
11. Why is Asiatic immigration significant?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What foreign countries have a very important race problem? How is one of these countries trying to solve its problem?
2. Give the result of some experiment to determine the relative ability of races.
3. Report on the condition of the negro in Africa. In slavery. What advantages has city life for the negro? Disadvantages?
4. Will the industrial development of the South tend to drive the negro away from that part of the country?
5. Who is responsible for the poverty of the average negro?
6. Write the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor for the results of several studies of infant mortality in negro communities.
7. How do you account for the fact that the homicide rate of negroes in the United States is very much greater than that of the white population?
8. Make out a program for the improvement of the social condition of the negro.
9. How can the relations of the whites and negroes be made more helpful to both?

10. Write an essay on, "The Future of the Negro in the United States."

11. *Resolved:* That the granting of suffrage privileges to the negro should have been left entirely to the states.

12. Find out from the Indian Office of the Department of the Interior or from the Census the number of Indians in each state and make a graph showing how the states rank in size of Indian population.

13. Imagine you are an Indian living on a reservation and describe life on the reservation.

14. *Resolved:* That the states should assume the chief responsibility for the solution of the problems of the Indian.

15. How do you account for the difference in culture of the Oriental and Western nations?

16. Why do the Asiatics who are citizens take so little part in our political life?

17. Why is the Asiatic apt to return to his native land?

18. Why do people in the United States object to Oriental immigration? How many of the reasons which influence other people seem valid to you?

19. Criticize the "gentlemen's agreement."

20. *Resolved:* That we should allow the Asiatic nations the same quota that we allow European nations.

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CHAPTER XXXII

CRIME

THE PROBLEM: Crime is found among all races and in all countries. It is a heavy loss to the great majority of people everywhere. The actual cost of catching and punishing criminals is nothing like so great as the cost of guarding against crime. Why do people commit crime? How should we treat criminals? How can we reduce crime to a minimum?

Extent. Crimes are far more numerous in the United States than in other leading countries. Theodore E. Burton in *Current History* compares the homicide—the killing of one person by another—rate per 100,000 in the United States registration area, which includes 82 per cent of our population, with the ratio of other countries.

United States	1911–21	7.2
Italy	1910–20	3.6
Australia	1911–20	1.9
South Africa	1912–18	1.8
New Zealand	1911–22	0.9
Ireland	1911–19	0.9
Spain	1911–17	0.9
Norway	1910–19	0.8
England and Wales	1911–22	0.8
Quebec	1911–21	0.5
Ontario	1911–21	0.5
Scotland	1911–21	0.4
Holland	1911–18	0.3
Switzerland	1911–20	0.2

The figures show that our homicide rate is twice that of Italy and many times that of the other countries. Our homicide rate has been increasing and is now about 9. There were thirty thousand homicides in the United States in the three-year period 1924–1926, a far greater loss of

life than either army experienced at Gettysburg. There are about 150 homicides a year in England and Wales with nearly 40,000,000 population, while Chicago alone had 509 in 1924.

We estimate the amount of crime largely by the number of prisoners and this does not give as accurate a picture as one would wish, because many persons who commit crime are not arrested, and many are freed after being arrested. Many criminals, too, are paroled, fined, or put on probation. The statistics, however, are accurate enough to indicate that the more serious crimes have increased since 1850, the year that we commenced keeping statistics.

On January 1, 1910, there were 67,871 prisoners in our prisons and reformatories, exclusive of juvenile reformatories, and 43,627 prisoners in our jails and workhouses. On January 1, 1923, there were 81,479 in the prisons and reformatories and 28,140 in the jails and workhouses. This is an increase of 20 per cent in the number of prisoners in prisons and reformatories and a decrease of 35.5 in the jails and workhouses. When we take into consideration the increase in population we find the ratio per 100,000 population has increased only .4 per cent in the prisons and reformatories, and has decreased 46 per cent in the jails and workhouses. A census of the prisons and reformatories of thirty-one states on January 1, 1927, showed there were 84.1 prisoners per 100,000 population. On January 1, 1923, there were 66.6.

If we are convicting as large a percentage of our criminals as formerly, these statistics indicate that we are making considerable progress in reducing minor offenses, but have lost much ground with respect to some of the most serious ones. Professor J. L. Gillin of the University of Wisconsin calls attention to the fact that in a single year 500,000 people, one out of every two hundred of our population, are imprisoned in penal and charitable institutions,

and adds, "From all the facts obtainable, however, it is fair to conclude that crime has been increasing, but that the increase is to be found chiefly in those actions which have been made crimes by new regulations, and those older crimes which can be committed by new methods."

Causes. Both *subjective*—those which lie within the individual—and *objective*—those which lie in the environment—causes are very important, and many causes are partly subjective and partly objective.

Frequently the environment has made permanent changes in the individual which predispose to crime. Poverty, an important cause of crime, may be due to deficiencies in the individual or to conditions in the environment. The same is true of unemployment. Drunkenness was found by the Committee of Fifty to be a cause of crime in half the cases investigated, and the principal cause in a third of the cases. It, too, is the result of subjective and objective forces. Ignorance is the cause of many crimes and the percentage of illiterates among criminals is very high. Low ideals and selfishness are important factors.

Feeble-mindedness, chronic insanity and epilepsy are very important subjective causes. There is also a connection between physical abnormality and crime, although the theory of Lombroso—the famous Italian criminologist—that the criminal type is a return to the primitive type of man is no longer influential.

Sex is an important factor and ninety-five per cent of our criminals are men. Age is also important, for the great majority of criminals are between twenty and forty years of age. Race, racial type, and the nativity of one's parents are important factors, as we have seen. We see the effect of subjective forces in the Juke, Kallikak and other families, although the family environment is doubtless a powerful factor also.

The physical environment, especially the temperature,

affects crime, but the objective causes are found chiefly in the social environment. Important social changes are apt to be accompanied by much crime. Industrial conflicts with their strikes, lockouts and other troubles are accompanied by much ill feeling which leads to crime. The presence of so many races and racial types with different customs is an important cause.

Bad family influences, bad training, bad associates and bad customs, such as the carrying of revolvers, are very important. Sensational newspapers, commercialization of amusements, city life, general moral standards, increasing luxury and the weakening of religious sentiments are important also. The automobile by enabling criminals to escape has encouraged robbery and other very serious crimes.

Probably the most common cause of the more serious crimes is our failure to catch and punish swiftly those who commit crime. The criminal frequently escapes detection, or the trial is delayed indefinitely, or the jury fails to convict because of the emotional appeal of the defense, or friendship for some one connected with the case lets the guilty escape. A higher court often annuls the verdict because of a technicality. Sometimes being too lenient causes the prison to fail to be a real punishment. Sometimes tactless handling of prisoners increases their criminality.

Bad legislation and too much legislation are common causes of crime and it is sometimes said that our self-government has more to fear from lawmakers than lawbreakers.

Last, but by no means least, are those individuals who would excuse criminals on the ground that they are not really to blame, and assert that punishment will not deter them. With respect to this view, Lawrence Veiller in *World's Work* says, "The unsupported statement that

punishment is not a deterrent, made with such assurance by the soft-hearted and soft-headed theorists who would do away with all punishment and who believe that all crime is a disease, receives a severe shock when tested in the light of experience." Chief Justice Taft speaks of "the maudlin sentimentality of many" and reminds us that the chief end of punishment is to deter.

Catching the criminal. The first modern city police force was that established in London by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 when he abolished the parochial organization and established one district controlled by a commissioner appointed by the crown. On the continent the police force of each country was militarized by the central government and the people hated it as an instrument of oppression, instead of desiring it for protection. The people of England and America developed a decentralized system.

In colonial America there were night watchmen, and each householder was expected to do his share of the work. In 1844 New York established day patrolmen, and many other cities followed. Frequently the day and night force were organized separately, with the result that there was lack of coöperation.

The weaknesses of the system were brought home to the American people forcibly by the disorders of the second quarter of the nineteenth century and about 1850 our cities began to adopt the modern system. Professional men were hired in the large cities to supplement others. Uniforms were introduced about the middle of the century in the face of the cry that they were "un-American."

State control of the police was very popular in the third quarter of the nineteenth century but has been abandoned in most cities. In Boston, St. Louis, Baltimore and a few other cities the head of the police system is appointed by the governor, but usually the board, which is frequently bi-partisan, or the commissioner who directs the police, is

chosen locally. The captains, lieutenants and sergeants are generally appointed by the head of the department.

Most of the large cities in the East and Far West have civil service, but in other sections many cities do not. Frequently partisan politics make efficiency impossible; recently there came to the attention of the writer a large city where the party boss required each policeman to give a certain part of his salary each month to the party campaign fund. Loyalty to party leaders, not efficiency, enables the policemen of that city to hold their positions and it has become a Mecca for criminals, as we might expect.

Photographs, the Bertillon system of measurements, and finger prints are used widely for the identification of criminals. Schools for training of policemen have been established in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville and other cities. Many cities now employ policewomen, and it is believed they can deal more effectively with women offenders in many cases.

The police systems of European cities are much more efficient than ours and Raymond B. Fosdick, after a careful study of police systems in this country and abroad, attributes this to our mixed population, greater amount of crime, unenforceable laws, and the law's delay on account of the courts and the public. The opportunities for wrongdoing are so many and the rewards so great that the citizens need not expect the policeman to be efficient unless they take an active interest in the enforcement of the law.

The county sheriff, elected by popular vote, has developed from the king's shire reeve—general executive officer of the crown—of medieval England.

Our state police is of modern origin. The Royal North West Mounted Police of Canada, and the Texas Rangers to guard the Mexican border were the forerunners of the state police, but the first real state system was established by Pennsylvania in 1905. President Roosevelt called the

Pennsylvania State Police a model of efficiency and honesty, with absolute freedom from political corruption. State police systems have been established in New York, West Virginia, Michigan, Massachusetts and other states. The state police were designed principally for protection of rural districts, but occasionally have been used in cities where the local officers failed to exert themselves to suppress crime.

Punishment in the past. At first, punishment for an offense was left to the injured individual or his family. Much disorder resulted from this method and society took the punishment of criminals into its own hands.

Punishment was frequently extremely severe. Fines, banishment, confiscation of property, imprisonment in horrible dungeons, infliction of physical torture by the thumbscrew, wheel or branding iron, and death by burning, boiling in oil, crucifixion or being buried alive were common means of punishment. Lord Byron's "Prisoner of Chillon" gives a vivid description of an early prison and its effect on prisoners. Prisons were formerly used only as places of detention or seclusion and the use of them as a punishment commenced in the seventeenth century. Children of ten or twelve were sometimes executed for trivial offenses.

A century ago in England more than two hundred offenses were punishable by death. France formerly had more than a hundred death penalties. In spite of these severe laws criminals were extremely numerous. The humanitarian spirit of the eighteenth century and the efforts of John Howard to bring about prison reform laid the foundation for a more humane treatment of prisoners. Penalties for many crimes are much less severe than formerly, and more than a fifth of our states at present do not inflict capital punishment.

An evolution has taken place in the theory of punish-

ment. The first punishments were largely for retribution: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Later, the idea of repression became more prominent. Recently, the reformation of the criminal is being stressed.

Modern prisons. The jails maintained by counties and cities in many states have changed little since colonial times. They are often slovenly places, without educational facilities, where the prisoners remain idle. Should the states abolish these and require prisoners to be kept in state prisons? There are a few workhouses or houses of correction maintained by county, city and, in several instances, the state, where the inmates, who are frequently vagrants or drunkards, are required to work.

The larger prisons have been of three types. In the *Pennsylvania* type, the foundation of which was laid at Philadelphia in 1790, the prisoners are isolated; each must live and work in his own cell. This system makes it possible to govern the prison easily and prevents ex-convicts from recognizing each other, but the isolation proves detrimental to the mind and body. This type was never widely used, and has been abandoned.

The *Auburn* type, introduced in 1816 at Auburn, New York, separates the prisoners at night only. During the day they are employed in large workshops. Silence is enforced, discipline is strict and much corporal punishment used. This type was widely used, but has developed into the system which was introduced at Elmira, New York, in 1876.

The *Elmira* type was largely an Australian idea and represents the first reformatory for adults in the United States. At first this type was for young adults and first offenders, but is now being used with all classes of prisoners and is becoming the prevailing type throughout the United States.

Great stress is laid on reformation. Educational and

religious instruction are provided and industrial training emphasized as a preparation for earning a living when released. Amusements and libraries are supplied. Use is made of the indeterminate sentence; and a system of marks, grades, promotion and parole is used. Many prisons have abolished the locked step, striped clothes and clipped hair in their effort to develop the self-respect of the prisoners.

Even the Elmira system has not gone far enough to suit Thomas Mott Osborne, ex-warden of New York's famous Sing Sing prison, and others who desire, and in a few cases have tried, self-government for prisoners. Some students of penology believe that the prison should be abolished altogether and some other system, perhaps more widespread probation, used.

Prison labor. Idleness is detrimental as well as unproductive so that it is essential that work be provided. Some people believe the proper employment of prisoners outranks in importance all other problems of imprisonment.

A recent investigation of the state prisons for adults and Federal civil prisons showed 61 per cent of the prisoners in productive employment, 31 per cent in domestic prison duties, 3 per cent sick, and 6 per cent idle. The annual value of goods produced was $76,096,960.

Six systems of prison labor have been widely used in the United States. Under the *lease* system the state leases the prisoners to contractors who feed, clothe, provide shelter for, guard and discipline them. The state requires only a temporary place of detention. The system usually results in much work being done. As the contractors desire profit rather than the welfare of the prisoners, the food and other supplies are apt to be extremely bad, and the discipline such as to make the prisoners more criminal at heart than ever. Florida, the last to use this system, abolished it in 1923.

In the *contract* system the state sells the labor of the prisoners for so much a head and continues to feed, clothe, house and discipline them. The contractor supplies the raw material and superintends the work. This system is fairly productive but is not conducive to the welfare of the prisoners. The state usually furnishes the power and machinery. Where the contractor furnishes the machinery the state is saved considerable outlay.

STATE FARM AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS

The farm contains hundreds of acres of the best agricultural land in the State. There is plenty of air, sunshine and work. Compare this with the dungeons of a few generations ago.

Under the *piece-price* system the contractor furnishes the materials and pays the state so much for each finished article. Prison officials dictate the amount of work done, and the supervision of the work is usually done by them. This system is fairly productive and is much superior to the lease and contract systems, as the state can put the welfare of the prisoners first and adjust the working program accordingly. Two fifths of the states have either the contract or piece-price system.

In the *public-account* system the state manufactures and sells its products in the best market it can find, as a private manufacturer would do. This requires much capital and business ability. The objection is that the articles manufactured come in competition with goods manufactured by free labor. This system, like the others mentioned, has been strongly opposed by organized labor. It is in use in forty-six states, but is little used in several.

The *state-use* and the *public works and ways* systems are very much alike. In the former the state manufactures articles for its own use, and in the latter it builds roads, buildings or makes other public improvements. These are the most desirable systems. They save the state money without making it necessary to offer its goods in competition with those made by private concerns. Many of the states own farms and the out-door work on these, like that on public improvements, proves beneficial to the health of many convicts. The state-use system is found in all the states and the public works and ways in twenty-eight. These two systems produce about one third of the product of prison labor.

The table following shows the per cent of convicts that were employed at productive labor under different systems, as shown by reports of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The public-account, state-use and public works and ways are not separated for 1885 and 1895.

System	Year				
	1885	1895	1905	1914	1923
Lease	26	19	9	4	...
Contract	40	34	36	26	12
Piece-price	8	14	8	6	7
Public-account	26	33	21	31	26
State-use			18	22	36
Public works and ways			8	11	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Per cent of all convicts that were employed at productive labor	75	72	65	NO FIGURES	61

An exchange of prison-made goods by the state governments would encourage division of labor and efficiency.

Compensation of prisoners for all work beyond a stated amount was begun as early as 1790 in Pennsylvania, but did not become important until recently. Sometimes the compensation is paid to the prisoner immediately, sometimes part of it is retained until he is released, or is paid to his family. Under the honor system prisoners often work beyond the walls of the prison without supervision and, when working for private concerns, are frequently permitted to keep a part of the wages received.

Individual treatment. In the commission of every crime there is involved the personality of the criminal, and no two criminals are exactly alike. Modern penology is demanding that the personality of the criminal as well as the nature of the crime be considered. The courts are increasing their use of psychological examinations and in 1921 Massachusetts made such an examination compulsory on the courts for those charged with the most serious crimes. In some of the states the convict goes first to the psychological ward, and his treatment in prison is largely determined by the examination.

The practice of giving the first offender and the youth the same treatment as the hardened criminal and forcing them together in the same prison is being superseded by segregation.

The *grading* system in which the prisoner enjoys additional privileges as a reward for good conduct is being used successfully.

The *indeterminate sentence* in which the court sets a maximum period of imprisonment and permits a board to decide the exact date of release is being used widely with good results. The prison officials are usually in a better position after observing the conduct of the prisoner than the court at the time of conviction to tell when the convict

should be released, and the prospect of a shorter term as the reward for good behavior appeals powerfully to the prisoner.

The *parole* is used in most of the states, and is frequently combined with the indeterminate sentence. It permits the convict to leave prison before the end of his sentence, but he must return if he violates the conditions of the parole. The parole has been productive of much good, but the system is receiving considerable criticism as a result of the acts of professional criminals. One out of every seven persons paroled by the Parole Bureau of the Prison Association of New York in 1924 was reported delinquent.

The right to pardon, which has existed for centuries, is sometimes used so freely as to encourage crime.

Probation is now widely used, especially in the case of the first offense, where the offender is young, or the offense slight. The judge suspends sentence during the good behavior of the offender. The person on probation is usually required to report to the court and permit a probation officer to keep in touch with him. This system enables the wrongdoer to continue his normal life and provide for his family. It is cheaper to administer, and has frequently brought excellent results. It is subject to great abuse, however, and probation officers or friends of the judge may defeat justice by bringing undue pressure to bear in favor of an offender for whom probation is not sufficient punishment.

The *suspended sentence* is sometimes used where there is no system of probation. The judge may think the circumstances leading to the crime justify probation, or he may wish to prevent the family of the offender from suffering, or wish to prevent a damage suit against the policeman who has arrested the person without cause. The payment of fines in installments is permitted in Chicago, Boston, and New York. This lessens the inequality be-

tween the rich and poor, as the poor have frequently been forced to go to jail for the nonpayment of fines.

Children in many states are now tried in *juvenile courts* where the trial is very informal and the punishment adjusted to the needs of the child. Juvenile courts are being extended to rural districts. The guilty person is generally put on probation. If this proves unsuccessful, he is sent to a reform school or to a family that attempts a reform by means of personal contact. Since 1825, when the House of Refuge, a private corporation, was organized in New York City for both sexes under twenty, much progress has been made in the treatment of juvenile offenders until the prison features have been done away with largely, and training substituted.

Sharp controversies often arise between those who are trying to save the criminal by education. Some insist the problem is an economic one while others are just as sure it is primarily a mental and moral problem. It would seem that individual treatment is needed so that education designed primarily for economic improvement or primarily for mental and moral improvement may be given according to the need of the individual. Perhaps education designed to secure both results would be best for the average prisoner. Home study courses for prisoners are now being given by some of the universities. Some attempt has been made at Columbia University to keep in touch with ex-convicts who have taken home study courses in Sing Sing.

Each of the methods of individual treatment can be made helpful if honestly and skillfully administered, but each is subject to great abuse.

Prevention. Much attention is now being given to the prevention of crime. This is the most promising point of attack and should receive careful attention from all of us. The newly-organized National Crime Commission represents an earnest effort at prevention.

The program of prevention must be comprehensive as the causes of crime are so numerous and varied. Much can be done to decrease the subjective causes by eugenic measures which prevent those individuals who are mentally defective or habitually criminal from having children. The defectives and most habitual criminals doubtless have a right to live, but neither have a right to burden untold generations with descendants.

AT PLAY IN THE CITY

Wholesome recreation is one of the most effective means of preventing crime.

We should use to better advantage the institutions for molding character. Better families and family training, schools more alert to create good citizenship, socialized play, a press with a keener sense of public duty, churches insisting upon socialized conduct, and a wider, more intelligent and tactful use of the juvenile court will do much to build character that will not be so quickly tempted to commit crime or yield so quickly if tempted.

We can do much to prevent crime by removing from the environment, or limiting, the things which lead toward it. Better places of amusement, fewer congested and vice-

ridden districts, fewer industrial conflicts, better industrial training, and the curbing of the interests which insist on the right to sell intoxicating liquors, habit-forming drugs and small arms would be helpful.

Swift and sure punishment would help tremendously. In European countries punishments are usually much swifter and surer than in the United States, and this is probably the principal reason they have less crime than we. We need more efficient police, fewer appeals, fewer verdicts set aside for technicalities, enough judges to insure prompt trials, less sentimentality among jurors and the public, and a frank attempt to get at the facts of the case instead of a battle of attorneys in which the relative skill of the attorneys, rather than the guilt or innocence of the accused, determines the verdict. We should be very careful as to the number and kind of laws made.

Punishment should be fitted to the individual: reformation where reformation is possible, and the cumulative sentence ending in permanent segregation or imprisonment where reformation is impossible. We must make all classes of criminals know that crime does not pay. Our most dangerous criminals today are those who compose the organizations that make a business of crime because it pays better than honest work.

Above all, we must have an active and intelligent public opinion that demands obedience to the laws, and a citizenry that is willing to sacrifice, if need be, to secure such obedience.

Questions on the Text

1. Discuss the extent of crime.
2. Enumerate the causes of crime.
3. Outline the growth of the police systems in the United States.
4. Describe punishment in the past.
5. Compare three types of prisons.

6. Criticize six systems of prison labor.

7. What modern attempts are being made to treat different classes of criminals differently?

8. What ways of preventing crime are mentioned?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Compare the extent of crime in this country at present with that in Europe several centuries ago.

2. What changes in amount of crime have occurred in your community in the last five years? To what do you attribute any change?

3. Make a thorough study of one cause of crime.

4. Are the police and courts of your community efficient?

5. How can we secure a more efficient police force?

6. What was the effect of the severe and brutal punishments of the past?

7. *Resolved:* That our prisons should give more punishment and less pleasure.

8. Describe a prison in your locality.

9. What systems of prison labor are used in your State?

10. What are the advantages and dangers of our attempts to individualize the treatment of prisoners? Of the Baumes laws?

11. Study the treatment of juvenile offenders.

12. Report on the work of the National Crime Commission.

13. Make out a program for the prevention of crime and indicate the ways you can aid in the working out of the program.

14. *Resolved:* That capital punishment should be abolished.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

POVERTY

THE PROBLEM: Why is it that in the richest country in the world millions of people are in poverty? Who is to blame for this? What relief should be given? Let us avoid, and help others avoid, the roads which lead to poverty!

Personal causes. Mental disease and mental defectiveness are two of our most important causes of poverty. The Charity Organization Society of New York City in 1925 found these the diagnosed or suspected causes in thirty-two per cent of the families dealt with.

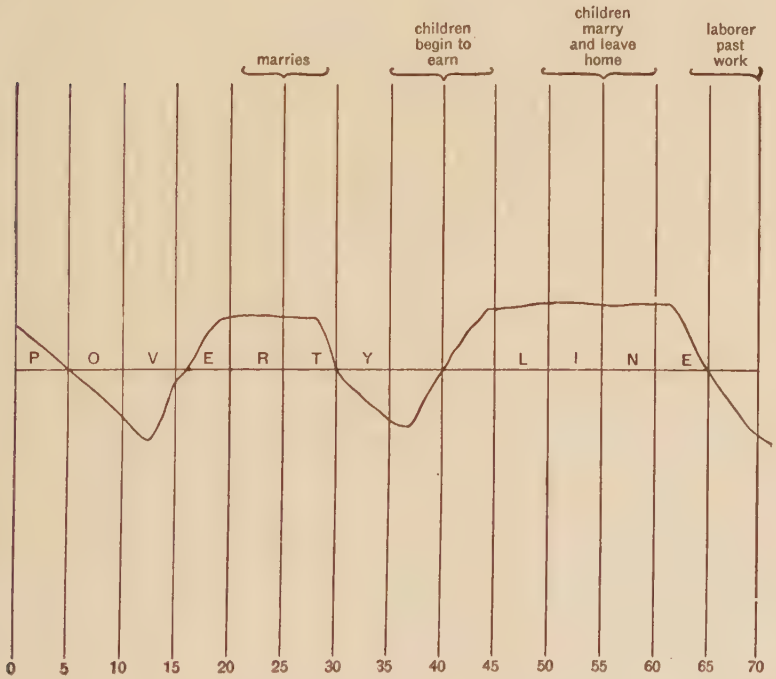
Investigators have found an extremely large proportion of the inmates of almshouses feeble-minded and Professor H. H. Goddard of Ohio State University believes fifty per cent of all pauperism due to this cause. In Iowa in 1922, 1,285 of the 3,090 inmates of county homes were insane. Of the 78,090 persons in almshouses in the United States on December 31, 1922, 12,183 were feeble-minded, 2,052 insane and 1,066 epileptic. The feeble-minded are apt to have many children and this magnifies their significance. Competition is keen in the modern world and the person who is seriously handicapped mentally is almost sure to be forced into poverty or pauperism unless he has family, friends or guardian to care for him.

Poor judgment, ignorance and illiteracy cause much poverty. Laziness, indifference to one's condition and other moral deficiencies cause many to remain poor or even lose the wealth which has been accumulated.

Physical disability is an extremely important cause of poverty. Seventy-six per cent of the families dealt with by the Charity Organization Society of New York City in 1924 and eighty-two per cent in 1925 had one or more mem-

bers suffering from some physical disability. Sickness alone is regarded as the cause of approximately one third of our poverty and pauperism. The loss of the use of an organ produces much poverty. On December 31, 1922, there were 15,415 cripples, 3,045 blind persons and 524 deaf mutes in the almshouses of the United States.

Undernourishment is both a cause and a result of poverty. It decreases efficiency continuously and leads to sickness. The importance of old age as a cause is shown by the fact that on January 1, 1923, 80 per cent of the paupers in the almhouses of the United States were over fifty years


marries
children begin to earn
children marry and leave home
laborer past work
P O V E R T Y
L I N E
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70

From S. Rowntree's "Poverty: A Study of Town Life"

THE RELATION OF THE AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE POVERTY LINE

The numbers indicate the age of the individual. The large crooked line represents the position of the individual in relation to the poverty line.

of age, 18.9 per cent were under fifty, and in 1.1 per cent of the cases the age was unknown.

Intemperance has been one of the most important causes. Many students of the subject believe a fourth of all poverty has been directly caused by intemperance and almost as much indirectly. The drug habit has claimed its miserable thousands.

Large families have caused many persons to be poor. The relation children are apt to bear to the poverty line is shown by Seebohm Rowntree in *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*. The individual is below the poverty line in early childhood; rises above it when he commences to work; falls below it when he has children to support; rises above it when his children begin to earn; and finally falls below it when old age has decreased or destroyed his earning power.

Desertion or death of the breadwinner, crime, and lack of vocational training are causes also.

It should be noted that the personal causes of poverty are interrelated and one often becomes the cause of another. The personal and environmental causes are likewise interrelated and the individual is often caught in a vicious circle from which it is impossible to escape.

Environmental causes. Nature is so niggardly in some regions that it is hard for even enterprising people to rise much above the poverty line. In the United States, however, the natural resources and transportation facilities are such that the physical environment is far less important than the social environment as a cause of poverty, although there is a close relation between the two.

The wages for some kinds of work are so low that one person cannot live decently on them, but many families—often very large ones—have no other source of income. Unemployment, always a factor of some importance and frequently associated with individual unfitness, becomes

an extremely important one in periods of industrial depression or conflict.

Overpopulation has brought extreme poverty in some sections of India and China, and the experience of those countries should give us food for thought. Immigrants tend to increase poverty by flooding the labor market. Many of them are in poverty because of the difficulty of adjusting themselves to the new environment.

Lack of facilities for proper educational training, child labor, long hours which reduce vitality and predispose to sickness and premature old age, unsanitary conditions in home and factory, unhealthful and hazardous occupations, bad associates, dens of vice and unwholesome recreation, low family or community standards, vicious institutions, defective government, disaster, changing prices, and unwise relief have forced many persons into poverty and kept many from rising from it.

Extent. It is extremely difficult to measure accurately the extent of poverty, but some careful surveys have thrown much light on it. Charles Booth on the basis of a long, careful study estimated that 30.7 per cent of the people of London, and Rowntree estimated 27.84 per cent of the people of York, England, were living in poverty. Booth's study was made during 1887–1892, a period of average prosperity and Rowntree's was made during 1899, a year of unusual prosperity.

The American sociologist, Robert Hunter, in 1904 estimated that slightly more than ten million people in the United States were in poverty and thought that in industrial states twenty per cent of the people were in poverty and fourteen per cent in actual distress. Estimates of those in poverty in the United States have ranged from four to twenty-five per cent.

It is also difficult to determine the number of paupers. Some investigators estimate them at less than three per

cent of our population. Other investigators think ten per cent are dependent wholly or in part on public or private charity. The percentage of poverty-stricken and paupers in the large cities is much greater than in rural districts. Poverty in Europe is greater than in the United States. In 1920 there were nearly one million persons in charitable institutions in the United States.

Results. Professor Alfred Marshall in the introduction of his *Principles of Economics* says, "But the conditions which surround extreme poverty, especially in densely crowded places, tend to deaden the higher faculties. Those who have been called the Residuum of our large towns have little opportunity for friendship; they know nothing of the decencies and the quiet, and very little even of the unity of family life; and religion often fails to reach them. No doubt their physical, mental, and moral ill-health is partly due to other causes than poverty, but this is the chief cause."

Courtesy, National Child Labor Committee

JOYLESS YOUTH

Poverty and child labor are found together very often. This is one reason why poverty is self-perpetuating. What do you think these child laborers should be doing?

One who has mingled with the people of the crowded districts of the slums or has read such a book as Jacob A. Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* will appreciate the significance of Marshall's words. Many of the very poor remain true to their ideals and show a heroism and optimism in the face of discouragement which few, if any, of us could surpass, but too often poverty

results in broken spirits, broken homes, degeneracy, ill-health, acute suffering and a high rate of infant mortality.

Nor does society go unscathed. Contagious and infectious diseases, starting among the poor, quickly spread to other groups. Poverty frequently robs one of both the energy and will to do work which is socially useful. The low mental and moral standards which poverty so often creates and perpetuates tend to drag society to their level. The vice and crime that are associated with poverty spread from the tenement district like fire from the same section. It is often a big factor in the perpetuation of corrupt political conditions. Both altruism and selfishness demand that we solve the problems of poverty.

Treatment in the past. There was much poverty among some primitive peoples but this was generally shared by all, or practically all, members of the clan or tribe. The killing of infants and the killing of the aged were the methods frequently resorted to that poverty might not overwhelm the entire group.

Poverty as a result of unequal distribution of wealth became acute with the coming of civilization and private property. In the ancient civilized world there was much poverty, but less private charity than at present. The destitute person frequently sold himself into slavery in order to get food. The Jewish law required that the slave of Jewish blood be set free at stated intervals and that land be redistributed. In ancient Greece food and money were given by the state in times of distress, emigration was resorted to, a poor tax was levied, and debts were abolished by the Law of Solon.

Poverty became so great in Rome following the Second Punic War that the city was filled with idle, starving mobs who received corn from the public granary, and money and food from wealthy individuals. In spite of the money spent and the blood shed in the gladiatorial arena to amuse them,

they were a constant menace, and finally secured political control of the city. Constantinople, Carthage and other ancient cities gave grain and money to their poor.

The philosophies and religions of the ancient Orient praised almsgiving. The Christian Church was influenced by Jewish, Greek and Roman ideas. Many rich people at death left property to be used for the care of the poor, and by the fifth century the Church was administering some endowed charities, poorhouses and orphanages. The medieval Church believed one could secure heavenly blessings by almsgiving, and much was given. Little thought was given by the monasteries and other agencies to the prevention of poverty, and the giving was so poorly directed that it increased the number of the poor. After the division of the Church at the time of the Reformation the governments of the European countries came more and more to deal with poverty.

In England the lords of the manors, as well as the church, dealt with poverty, but the government showed little interest until the thirteenth century when it commenced a policy of repression. The breaking up of the feudal system, the rise of prices on account of gold and silver from Spanish America, enclosure of land for stock-raising, and the destruction of monasteries caused armies of beggars to become a nuisance and menace throughout England.

The Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 established a tax for the support of the poor. It provided work for the capable poor and children, permitted the erection of poorhouses and authorized the authorities to apprentice children. In 1697 the first workhouse was established at Bristol and the success of this caused others to be established throughout the country.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century an attempt was made to fix wages in the interest of laborers and in the

desire to relieve distress at the individual home. The results were disastrous as many accepted charity instead of work and the rate of taxation for the poor became intolerable. Most of the relief was given to the poor in their homes and very few were living in poorhouses. Thousands of the able-bodied poor were making no efforts to be self-supporting, and the moral effect of this haphazard, unsupervised charity was as disastrous as the economic results. The law of 1834 provided greater centralization in control, and abolished relief for able-bodied persons except that given in workhouses where conditions were so exacting that those who could do so would avoid them.

From the days of primitive man, adoption by a self-supporting family has been one of the most efficient means of relieving poverty, and the adopted persons often prove their worth by the quality of their lives.

Recent indoor relief. In indoor relief the recipient lives in an institution; in outdoor relief he remains in his own home. The colonists were familiar with the English workhouse, and the American almshouse was formed after this English model. This public institution, often called poor farm, poorhouse, or by a name that seems milder, was formerly an institution for all the poor. It still contains mixed groups, with many physically and mentally defective persons, in spite of the fact that children and some other special classes are now generally cared for in separate institutions in most of the states.

Almshouses are found in all states except New Mexico, and are county institutions in forty states, although Cincinnati, Louisville, Baltimore and a few other cities maintain separate institutions. In five New England states the almshouse is a town institution. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey they may be county, town, township, city, or, in Pennsylvania, borough institutions.

Few states provide more state control than inspection

and recommendation by state authorities. Several states maintain state institutions. Almost ninety per cent of the almshouses are under the direct management of the executive officials of the local government who employ a superintendent, but the contract system is frequently used—almost exclusively used in Arkansas, Mississippi and Kentucky—and the almshouse leased to an individual who cares for the poor.

In 1922 there were 2,353 almshouses in the United States. In 1923, ninety-three per cent of these reported a combined daily average of 85,889 inmates, property valued at $150,485,231 and an annual expenditure of $28,740,535. Many other paupers were kept in the homes of individuals who received compensation from the local authorities.

Our almshouses are receiving severe and just criticism. Classification and segregation of inmates are needed badly. It is inhuman as well as dangerous to compel or permit the deserving person who has been overtaken by sickness or old age, the tubercular, the tramp, the mentally defective, the blind and the lame to associate. During the past twenty-five years much progress has been made in removing children, the tubercular, the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic and the blind to special state institutions, but conditions are still deplorable in many states. The ease with which the loafer may enter and leave encourages idleness and spreads disease. The people admitted during 1922 were 81.7 per cent as great in number as the entire population of the almshouses on January 1, 1923. Superintendents are usually political appointees and frequently unsuited for their work.

More than half the almshouses have fewer than twenty-five inmates and their size makes economy difficult. There is a movement toward concentration with one institution in each large district, and this appears to be a helpful change. The only service during illness is usually the care of the

matron and an occasional visit of a physician. A recent bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics says the story of the American almshouse is a story of "haphazard conditions, covering every degree of efficiency and economy and of waste, extravagance, and mismanagement; of sympathetic treatment and honest effort to make an almshouse a home, and of neglect, indifference and downright inhumanity."

The state institutions for the care of the special classes which have been removed from the almshouses are usually very much superior to the local almshouses. Municipal hospitals, especially, are receiving appreciative attention on account of their increasing efficiency. Thousands of institutions for orphans, the aged and others have been established by religious, fraternal, philanthropic and industrial organizations, and these are usually far superior to the almshouse in equipment and management.

Recent outdoor relief. Mothers' pensions and municipal dispensaries are the only important forms of public outdoor relief in America outside of the New England towns. Mothers' pensions were introduced from Europe about 1912 and immediately became so popular that seventeen states adopted them in a single year. Municipal dispensaries provide medicine, eye, ear, surgical and general medical treatment free or for a nominal price. Public outdoor relief often fails because the officials lack interest and training, or because of political discriminations.

The St. Vincent de Paul Societies of the Roman Catholic Church, many societies of the Protestant churches, the United Hebrew Charities, the Salvation Army, rescue missions and other religious bodies provide much outdoor relief. A multitude of nonreligious private agencies give outdoor relief to a great variety of special groups. There are more than two thousand such agencies in New York City alone. Much relief is given by individuals.

So much giving was done blindly, and there was so much overlapping, that the Charity Organization Society, first introduced in 1877 at Buffalo, is now found in almost every large city and in some counties. It secures greater unity in the work of the other charity agencies and attempts to get and give knowledge that will be a guide in relief work. The Charity Organization Society of New York City has on file information concerning more than 700,000 families

	TOTAL RELIEF	$179,036
	WEEKLY OR MONTHLY ALLOWANCES	140,247
	OTHER PLANNED RELIEF	20,780
	EMERGENT RELIEF	18,009

Courtesy, Charity Organization Society of New York

PLANNED AND EMERGENCY RELIEF

A recent report of the Charity Organization Society of New York showed it was making the distribution of relief indicated by the diagram. Is as large a proportion of relief in your community planned?

that have been helped by the charity agencies of that city. Many communities have an annual drive for charity funds and divide this among the various organizations.

Outdoor relief has been criticized with special severity for more than a century, but we are now beginning to swing in the direction of it again with the students of charity insisting that it must be accompanied by knowledge of the individual or family seeking aid, and some supervision.

Principles of relief. A drunkard who had been sober for a number of weeks and doing efficient work asked the writer for a quarter. The quarter was given and that afternoon the man was sent to the workhouse for being

drunk from whiskey purchased with the quarter. So often the dime or quarter given unwisely produces much trouble.

The welfare of the poor should be given first consideration in our charity. The person who is ashamed to pass the beggar without giving him a nickel, or is afraid that

Courtesy, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

BEGGARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Pauperism is very old. Have we made much progress in the administration of relief?

some punishment here or hereafter may be the result of sending the tramp away from the door hungry, is neither sociologically nor, we think, spiritually wise. We should be careful to refrain from encouraging pauperism and it is almost sure to be encouraged by indiscriminate giving.

If the street beggar really needs aid he can get it from those who are in a position to secure adequate knowledge of him. If he does not need aid, why should we feed, clothe and shelter the parasite while many deserving poor are in

want? The school to teach beggars how to ply their trade effectively is not unknown. The maimed vender of street wares, or his employer, who knows one will drop a coin in the can without taking the pencil or shoestrings, is no more deserving.

Charity must not break down the spirit of self-reliance of the poor, as unwise charity did in Rome, England and, to a considerable extent, in other countries. A few days of hunger are better than a lifetime of pauperism. Duplication of charity should be avoided. The weekly gifts of several charity organizations and individuals may amount to more than a weekly wage. There should be the closest coöperation between the various public and private agencies.

Personal contact with the giver or his agent is very helpful and the friendly visitor of the Elberfeld system has been one of the most important factors in the success of that system. Relief work should be individualized. The case method which attempts to diagnose and treat each family or individual as the physician does his patient is receiving much emphasis.

Prevention. The most helpful way to attack the problem of poverty is through preventive measures, and our leaders are turning their thought with increasing zeal to this method. Unless we solve this problem the poverty-stricken or pauperized masses will become a menace to our free institutions.

The psychological causes, such as feeble-mindedness, could be greatly reduced by eugenics. Many of the moral delinquents, too, would doubtless be eliminated in this way. Illiteracy could be reduced greatly by insisting that the schools be efficient and the school attendance law be obeyed.

Vocational training for those with physical deficiencies, health training in the schools, better recreation, more wide-

spread use of medical facilities, better control of contagious disease, more wholesome food, and accident, health and old age insurance would do much to remove the physical causes.

Intemperance and the drug habit could be greatly reduced by rigidly enforcing the prohibition and anti-narcotic laws. By creating more wholesome family conditions we could reduce the poverty due to desertion. Much waste would be prevented by simpler customs and habits.

We could prevent much of the poverty due to the physical environment by draining unhealthy districts, and by inventions which enable us to use nature's power more advantageously. Better wages because of increasing efficiency of labor or a more equitable distribution of wealth where labor is not getting a fair return for its work would decrease poverty. Vocational training, less unemployment by a reduction of the personal causes of unemployment, a better system of labor exchanges and the spreading of seasonal trades over a longer portion of the year, family budgets, provident loan associations, industrial arbitration, better housing laws, more public health work, fewer dens of vice and vicious recreation because of a better public opinion and better law enforcement, more honest and helpful government, the limitation of immigration, cooperative societies, a better understanding of the significance of poverty, and more efficient relief measures would greatly reduce the social causes of poverty.

The prevention of poverty for even one person would mean very much to that person, and we can prevent poverty for millions.

Questions on the Text

1. List the personal causes of poverty. The environmental causes.

2. Discuss the extent of poverty.

3. What are the results of poverty to the poor? To society?
4. Criticize the treatment of poverty in the past.
5. Criticize the almshouse.
6. Name some important agencies giving outdoor relief.
7. What are some important principles of relief?
8. Criticize each suggestion for preventing poverty.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What are the chief causes of poverty in your community?
2. Show the connection between poverty and several other social problems.
3. Estimate the number of your acquaintances who are in poverty.
4. Compare the extent and result of poverty in rural and urban districts.
5. Study the connection between poverty and politics in ancient Rome. In America.
6. Report on the English Poor Law.
7. Report on public indoor relief in your State.
8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of indoor relief? Of outdoor relief?
9. Show the significance of one principle of relief.
10. *Resolved:* That an education is the best insurance against poverty.
11. Make out a program to prevent poverty in your community.
12. *Resolved:* That one should never give alms to a stranger.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

DEFECTIVENESS

THE PROBLEM: To learn how to prevent defectiveness and to make the defectives as happy and useful as possible.

Feeble-mindedness. A feeble-minded person is one whose mind has never developed to normal capacity. There are three grades of the feeble-minded. Idiots do not have the mentality of a child of more than two years. Imbeciles do not have greater mentality than the child of seven. The morons may have as great mentality as a child of twelve.

It is impossible to say how many feeble-minded are in the United States as the great majority are mingling freely with the public, but estimates vary from a quarter of a million to several million. There are about fifty thousand in institutions for the feeble-minded and a large number are in poorhouses, prisons and other public institutions. A survey of the 60 state institutions for feeble-minded and epileptics in 36 states on January 1, 1927, showed 52,043 patients. This was about 54.7 per 100,000 of general population. The number admitted for the first time to these institutions has increased only a little more rapidly than our general population has increased.

The greatest cause of feeble-mindedness is heredity and perhaps three fourths of all cases are due to it. Sickness and accidents in early childhood also cause many cases.

The causes suggest the means of prevention. The feeble-minded should not be permitted to reproduce. Many are not responsible, nearly all lack self-control and if permitted to reproduce freely will increase rapidly in numbers and bring a big burden on the community. All states forbid the marriage of the lower grades of the feeble-minded

but large numbers of morons have as much liberty as the rest of us.

All except four states provide separate institutions for the feeble-minded where the sexes are segregated, and two other states have taken steps in that direction. There are also sixty-six private institutions as well as a dozen Federal ones and one maintained by a city. Small colonies are sometimes provided instead of large institutions. Sterilization is provided for in some states and the Supreme Court has upheld the Virginia compulsory sterilization law for mental defectives in state institutions.

As the war against disease and the prevention of accidents make progress the feeble-mindedness due to sickness and accident will doubtless decrease.

Feeble-mindedness is rarely cured, so each afflicted person presents a permanent problem. The lower grades cannot be taught, so that nothing can be done except make them as comfortable as possible. The morons can be taught and many cities provide special classes for them in which handwork and health habits are stressed. There are also more than fifty state and thirty private schools for the feeble-minded.

Feeble-mindedness as a cause of crime and poverty has been mentioned already, and it presents as great a menace with respect to other social problems.

Insanity. The insane person has become defective after a normal mental development. He differs from the feeble-minded in that the latter have never possessed normal mentality. Insanity seldom comes before the age of fifteen.

Heredity is given as an important cause but this frequently—perhaps usually—means only that the person has less than normal resistance and will remain sane or become insane according to the strain that is encountered. Much insanity is due to alcoholism and other vicious diseases.

Collapse due to old age, often attended by a breakdown of the arteries in the brain, is an important cause.

There are about 300,000 insane persons in institutions in the United States and a large number outside of institutions. Insanity is increasing and evidence that much of it is due to the stress and complexity of modern life is piling up. The number of patients admitted to insane hospitals indicates that there is a greater percentage of it in cities than in the country, and a greater percentage in large cities than in small ones. Much insanity could be prevented by a less strenuous life, by sobriety and avoidance of vicious diseases.

Many cases, especially those which occur late in life, can be cured. Sometimes insanity is intermittent. Some people are insane with respect to one topic, or a few topics, and rational with respect to others. The insane are generally harmless but a few are violent. The violent ones were formerly thought to be possessed with devils and were frequently chained and subjected to the greatest cruelty. Public opinion is now demanding that kind treatment be given all the insane.

Epilepsy. Epilepsy is closely related to feeble-mindedness and insanity but the attacks are intermittent. Convulsions are a part of severe epileptic attacks and the epileptic falls to the ground. Heredity is the most important cause and probably half of the children of epileptics are affected by the disease. Other causes of the brain lesion which precipitates the attacks are chronic alcoholism, heat, gastric disorders, fright, infectious disease and mental strain. Frequently it is incurable.

Care should be taken that the sufferer does not bite his tongue or do himself other injury. Hygiene, diet, light exercise and an outdoor life make it less severe. Ohio in 1893 established the first separate institution for treatment, and one fifth of the states now have such institutions with

some 10,000 patients. The Craig colony at Sonyea, New York, represents one of the most helpful ways of dealing with the disease. Some able and efficient people are subject to attacks.

Blindness. There are perhaps 75,000 blind persons in the United States. Fortunately the percentage of people who are blind is decreasing.

Courtesy, Perkins Institution for the Blind

THE BLIND AT PLAY

Play is as essential to the development of the defective as of the normal child. The defectives appear to enjoy play as much as any of us.

Much blindness is due to germs which enter the eyes at birth. A weak solution of nitrate of silver kills the germ and prevents infection if applied immediately. Intelligent and conscientious practitioners are careful to take the necessary precautions, but the ignorant and careless frequently neglect to do this and permit many children to be maimed. A good many cases of blindness are accidental. Eye strain causes a very large number of cases of impaired vision if not of total blindness, and one can scarcely be too careful in protecting the eyes, as the blind seldom recover

vision. Cataract, glaucoma, trachoma, and atrophy of the optic nerve are also important causes.

Schools for the blind are as old as the United States for in 1784 Valentin Haüy opened in France the first school for the blind. The idea soon spread to other countries and

Courtesy, Perkins Institution for the Blind

MANUAL TRAINING FOR THE BLIND

The blind can learn to do many things well if they receive the proper training when young. Suitable work will make them happier as well as partially or wholly self-supporting.

schools were opened in many of the principal cities. Dr. Samuel G. Howe in 1832 opened in Boston the school which is now the Perkins Institution for the Blind and did much pioneer work. There are at least fifty schools in the United States, and every state either maintains one or provides for the education of its blind children elsewhere.

Many systems of writing have been tried but the Braille

system of raised points is now in general use. *The Matilda Ziegler Magazine,* a combination of newspaper and literary periodical, is published for the blind.

The senses of touch and hearing are highly developed and the blind can do many helpful kinds of work: sewing, crocheting, knitting, carving, woodworking and even piano

Courtesy, The Kentucky School for the Deaf

FOOTBALL TEAM OF THE DEAF

Recreation for some classes of defectives is an extremely serious problem. Since the defectives are shut off from some sources of recreation because of their defectiveness, the community should be especially careful to see that other forms are provided.

tuning. Helen Keller accomplished wonders although she was blind, deaf and, for a very long time, dumb.

Deafness. Deafness, like other defectiveness, is a matter of degree. The United States Census of 1920 reported 44,885 deaf mutes, and there are doubtless considerably more than this number who are nearly, or quite, deaf. Doubtless many of the dumb had normal organs of speech but had not learned to talk because of deafness. The last Census reported 1,107 dumb persons who were not deaf.

Scarlet fever, measles, meningitis and other diseases, accidents and heredity are the principal causes of deafness.

The deaf are found in considerable numbers in agriculture, woodworking, metal work, dressmaking, personal service and other occupations. Their usefulness and happiness are greatly increased by education. The first success-

Courtesy, The Kentucky School for the Deaf

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR THE DEAF

This school, at Danville, Kentucky, established in 1823, was the pioneer in the field of state schools for the deaf.

ful school for the deaf in the United States was opened by T. H. Gallaudet at Hartford, Connecticut in 1817. There are now many state, city, and private schools. The Federal Government maintains Gallaudet College at Washington where the deaf receive collegiate instruction. Lip reading is being used increasingly, but the manual method of communication is still common.

Crippleness. We have seen that there are more than 15,000 crippled persons in the almshouses of the United

States. Some are in special institutions for incurables. Fortunately a much larger number are self-supporting. Others are supported by family or friends. The great progress of medical science has made it possible for many cripples by the use of artificial limbs to become efficient producers.

Ignorance of parents sometimes prevents children being helped. A short time ago the writer saw a leading surgeon of one of our largest cities offer free treatment to a child with a tubercular knee. After the surgeon had made arrangements with a hospital for treatment, the mother changed her mind and refused to let the child go to the city. Doubtless a kind of superstitious dread of the unknown restrained the mother, and her child—bright and eager to make his way in the world—continues to hobble about on crutches.

There are always many cripples at the close of an important war, and the Federal Government has provided instruction for disabled veterans which has made many partly or wholly self-supporting. A complex civilization provides so many kinds of employment that a larger number of the partly disabled would be self-supporting if greater care were taken to place them where they would be most efficient. Those that cannot be made self-supporting should be provided for liberally, but should not be permitted to beg in the streets even if they do it with a license or pretend to be offering a commodity for sale. The same principle should guide us in dealing with all classes of defectives. Some very influential people—people to whom succeeding generations have been debtors—were cripples.

Alcoholism. An old man broken by alcoholism in a charitable institution said to the writer, "We know it is our own fault, but that makes it all the harder to bear." This man a few years ago was prosperous and prominent,

and his remark suggests the fact that frequently a man is his own worst enemy. Every community has some of these persons whom alcohol has made more helpless than the morons and many other defectives. In the large cities many of them can be found on the benches of the public parks—hopeless wrecks of humanity for whom the charitable agencies can provide food and shelter, but not very much besides. Shall we call them self-made defectives? This would not be entirely fair as the environment plays a big part in making the inebriate.

Evidence showing the harmful effects of alcohol on the individual is piling up constantly. It harms physically, mentally and morally. We have known for a long time that an excessive use of alcohol produces disastrous effects and are now learning that even a moderate use is harmful. The total abstainer has a greater immunity from disease. Alcohol paralyzes the white corpuscles of the blood which preserve health. Muscles, nerves, liver, and even protoplasm are harmed by it. It is a narcotic, not simply a stimulant. It affects the brain, and makes a person stagger mentally as well as physically. We have noted that it causes much insanity.

The social effects of intoxicating liquor are as disastrous as the effects on the individual. We have seen what an influential part it plays in causing crime, poverty and divorce. Child destitution, immorality, accidents and political corruption are greatly increased by it. The saloon was the gathering place of antisocial groups of every description. Perhaps worst of all, alcohol may affect the germ plasm and cause the infant to begin life as a defective.

What has been done to check the use of intoxicating liquor? A complete answer would doubtless carry us back far beyond the dawn of history. The ancient nations struggled with some aspects of the problem and even primitive peoples have dealt with it.

The fight in America was principally by means of education for a long time although the rum trade was unlawful awhile in colonial Georgia. Pledges, periodicals and pamphlets have been widely used, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and many other societies have been active. Gradually political control developed. There was much dry territory through local and county option. Maine in 1846 adopted state-wide prohibition and a few states followed her example during the nineteenth century although some of the states did not remain dry. By 1920 thirty-two states were dry by state action and many others were largely dry.

The Prohibition party which was organized in 1869, the Anti-Saloon League and other organizations used political activity and in 1917 Congress submitted to the states an amendment prohibiting the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors. This, the Eighteenth Amendment, was adopted, and went into effect in 1920. Congress and the states have concurrent power of enforcement.

Congress passed the Volstead Act which defines as "intoxicating" all beverages containing one and one half per cent of alcohol. The Federal Government and some of the states commenced the Herculean task of enforcement. Treaties have been made with several countries giving us the privilege of searching their ships beyond the three-mile limit, and conferences with Canada and Mexico have resulted in helpful agreements to limit smuggling. There has been great violation of the law, especially in those sections of the country that did not want prohibition.

What of the future? One cannot be sure in predicting. Yet one is very apt to feel sure of one's desire in the matter. The greatest difficulty, apart from those who profit financially by the traffic, is the habit-forming nature of alcohol. A person recognizes the destructiveness of it, and may

even dislike the taste, but after the drinking habit has been formed one is apt to drink today and forget about the evils of tomorrow. This is the real cause of much of the "personal liberty" objection to prohibition, and we are constantly giving up just as great personal liberty in other fields without a whimper. If we can have even a few years relatively free from intoxicating liquors it seems safe to say that so many people will be free from the drinking habit that public sentiment will secure the continuance of a dry country. What difference does it make to you if the country is wet or dry?

In spite of the difficulties of enforcement there is much less intoxicating liquor drunk than before 1920, and it is probable that we shall secure a better enforcement and more satisfactory conditions generally. Whether one believes prohibition wise or unwise, there rests on one the same obligation to obey the Volstead Act as any other law of which one personally disapproves. Are we justified in saying to the American people, "Liquor or Law—which will you have?"

The drug evil. Morphine, cocaine, heroin and other narcotic habit-forming drugs are producing much defectiveness as they claim their miserable thousands. The drug habit is quickly formed, but is extremely difficult to break. The suffering of the drug addict when not under the influence of a drug is excruciating and he is helpless before the desire to secure a new supply.

The Federal Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 provides that one must secure a doctor's prescription before buying these drugs and regulates the giving of such prescriptions. Most of the states also regulate the sale of narcotics. The drugs are easily concealed and there is some evidence that the illicit use of them is increasing, but the control of the drug traffic is much more successful than the control of intoxicating liquor.

Questions on the Text

1. How should we prevent feeble-mindedness?
2. What causes insanity?
3. How should epilepsy be treated?
4. Discuss the education of the blind.
5. How would you deal with the causes of deafness?
6. What principles should guide in dealing with cripples?
7. What evils are due to intoxicating liquor?
8. Discuss the drug evil.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What tests would you use to detect feeble-mindedness? Show its relation to other social problems. Report on the education of the feeble-minded.

2. *Resolved:* That all morons should be in institutions with the sexes segregated.

3. Do you know any one who is being driven dangerously near insanity by environmental influences?

4. Report on a colony for epileptics.

5. Report on one of the following: Samuel Howe; Laura Bridgman; Helen Keller; a twentieth century school for the blind.

6. What avenues of pleasure and happiness which you enjoy at present would be closed if you should become deaf?

7. Have you been of much service to a cripple? Should preference be given to a cripple seeking employment if he can do the work as well as a normal person?

8. What provisions for defectives are made by your State?

9. Report on one of the following: kinds of intoxicating liquor; legal regulation in a foreign country; the activity of one temperance society; the progress of prohibition legislation in the United States; opium traffic.

10. *Resolved:* That the Volstead Act should be modified.

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CHAPTER XXXV

PUBLIC HEALTH

THE PROBLEM: All individuals and all communities desire good health. The individual cannot expect to enjoy good health if the community is ignorant or careless in matters of health, nor can the community expect to enjoy good health if the individual is ignorant or careless. Our problem is to know how, and to be willing, to work together for the health of all.

Keeping fit. Good health is a greater blessing than most of the things we work a lifetime to attain. A proper sense of values would cause us to give far more attention to the attainment of it. Our efficiency as well as our happiness is to a considerable extent conditioned by it. It is so much easier to retain than to regain it that it behooves each one to keep in fine condition.

Some disease germs are already in our bodies and we cannot avoid coming in contact with others, so it is of supreme importance that we keep our resistance high. Preventive measures cannot begin too early. A recent physical examination of 3,125 children, two to seven years of age, in Gary, Indiana, showed only 149 or 4.8 per cent free from disease and defect. A few ounces of care as to food, clothing, shelter, sleep, breathing, and recreation at the initial stages of a defect may save many pounds of curative effort later. More than half a million of the men examined under the Draft Act of the World War were unfit for any kind of military service.

The social nature of disease. In health, as in religion, we are our brother's keeper. Whether we let our resistance become so low as to be a breeding place of a contagious disease, scatter the germs by disobeying quarantine, or vote for civic measures harmful to the health of the com-

munity, we endanger our neighbor's life. As our population becomes denser the opportunities for the spread of disease are multiplied. The Black Death, which is said to have killed one third of the people of England in the fourteenth century, the plagues of Asia and the influenza epidemic of the World War bring home to us vividly the social nature of disease.

Jenner's discovery of vaccination in 1798 has saved millions of lives and the progress made in bacteriology since Pasteur's wonderful work has been great, but disease

Courtesy, Miss Dina Ramstad

PREVENTIVE WORK

The health camp and school nurse are two of our most effective aids to health. It is far more agreeable as well as economical to keep well.

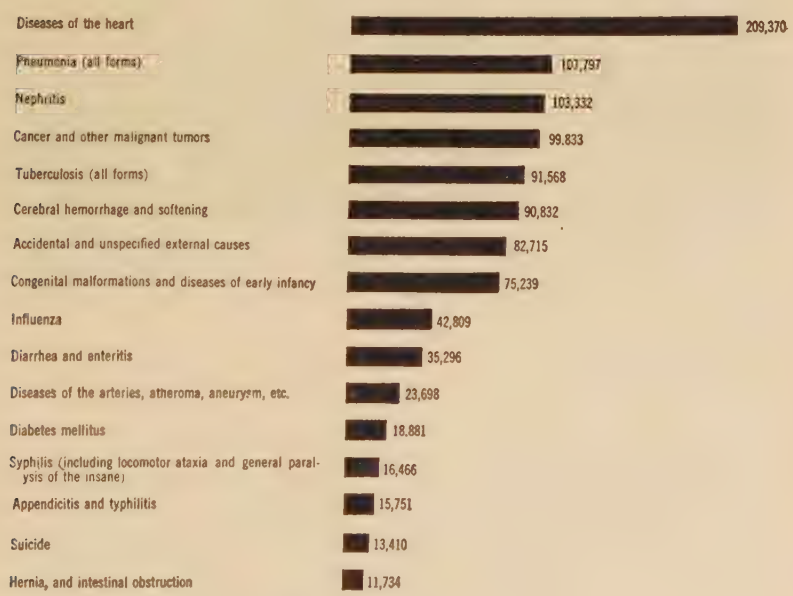
germs are still with us and take a heavy toll of life in spite of the help given by helpful bacteria. Tuberculosis, typhoid fever, diphtheria, influenza, malaria, smallpox and other contagious diseases continue to kill their thousands in spite of our campaign against vermin, the fly, the mosquito, the public drinking cup, spitting on the street and other menaces to health. We are now trying especially hard to control the routes of infection.

Bright's disease, valvular heart disease, diabetes and some other prevalent diseases are non-communicable.

Tuberculosis. The social nature of disease and the need of keeping fit are well illustrated by tuberculosis. Although it is not hereditary, probably sixty-five or seventy

per cent of our population are infected before they reach sixteen years of age. This proves the ease with which the tubercle bacillus, which conveys the disease, spreads. Only a very small percentage of those who become infected develop tuberculosis and this is due to the fact that good health makes the resistance of the average person high enough to hold the germs in check.

Spitting, coughing, and intimate contacts spread the germs which live longest in dark, damp places. Improper diet, worry, overwork, lack of cleanliness, bad housing, too little air and sunshine, improper clothing and improper recreation pave the way for tuberculosis.



MOST FREQUENT CAUSES OF DEATH

The figures give the number of deaths in the registration area of continental United States (which contains about 89.8 per cent of our population) in 1926 from each of the most frequent causes. Study the background of each of these causes of death, and prepare a program to prevent each cause being so destructive. List other important causes of death and make suggestions concerning them.

Some important symptoms of the disease are weariness, coughing, loss of appetite and weight, night sweats, a persistent afternoon temperature, hoarseness and pain in the chest. The appearance of any of these symptoms should cause one to consult a physician at once, avoid intimate contacts, sleep alone, get more fresh air and more nourishing food, and rest.

We are making rapid strides in reducing tuberculosis. There are more than four hundred hospitals devoted par-

A MILK DISTRIBUTING STATION

The social nature of disease makes pure milk essential to health. What is being done to provide pure milk in your community?

ticularly to the treatment of it. More than fifteen hundred societies are affiliated with the National Tuberculosis Association, and public and private agencies are engaged in an active campaign to reduce it. The death rate in the registration area was 201.9 per 100,000 population in 1900, 160.3 in 1910, 114.2 in 1920, 93.6 in 1923, 90.6 in 1924, 86.6 for 1925 and 87.1 for 1926. There are still approximately 100,000 deaths a year from it, eighty-five per cent of which are from pulmonary tuberculosis.

Some writers believe much of the decline in death rate

from tuberculosis has been due to biological selection, by which an immunity is being developed, but the great majority think it is due primarily to forces which operate after birth. The death rate from tuberculosis is especially high between fifteen and forty-five years of age. The economic loss is higher than that caused by any other disease.

Courtesy, Department of Agriculture

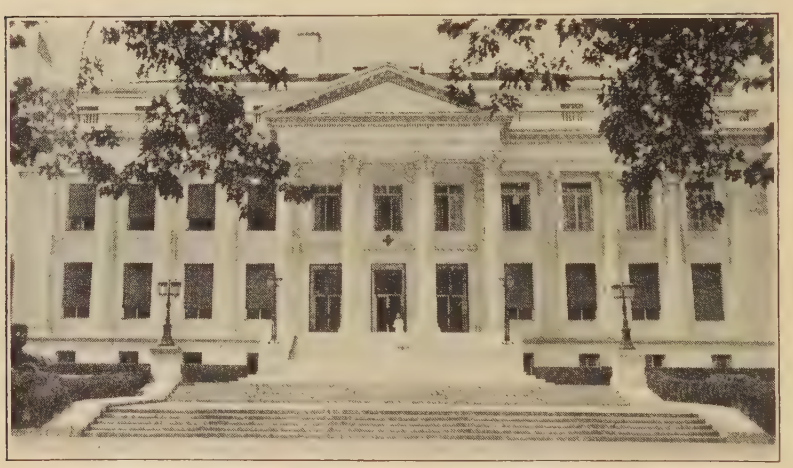
TUBERCULAR HERD

These cows are apparently healthy, but examination showed a large number of them tubercular. Is it wise to insist on the examination of all milk cows? Of all beef cattle?

Housing. Poor housing means poor health. Many recent studies have shown a very high death rate and infant mortality rate in the congested tenement districts. A large percentage of the children there are undernourished and underweight. The states that have the lowest death rates are the ones without large cities, and the large cities with the lowest death rates are Akron and Seattle, which have a large proportion of one-family houses. Some cities of Europe have shown a close connection between good housing and a low death rate.

Dark rooms and hallways are apt to be filthy and help

disease germs to multiply. They also cause many accidents. Bad plumbing, bad sanitation, and lack of facilities for bathing mean more deaths. Poor ventilation means a loss of appetite as well as too little oxygen for the chemical processes of the body. Damp, cold houses in winter produce lowered resistance. Warm air brings an increase in the velocity of the blood, and the house that is oppressively hot in summer may be as detrimental as uncomfortable. Many city dwellers spend only a few minutes a day, or



THE HOME OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

even a few minutes a week, out of doors. Hundreds of people sometimes live in a single building.

An investigation in New York City revealed the same deplorable conditions as earlier investigations had revealed in European cities and resulted in the New York Tenement House Law of 1901. This law has been followed by similar laws in all of our largest cities. The decrease in the general death rate of New York City from 20.4 per 1,000 population in 1900 to 12.9 in 1924 was due in part to the city's housing regulations.

The laws regulate buildings in the tenement house district as to building material, height, air, light, fire-escapes, cleanliness and other items which affect health. A corps of inspectors are kept busy seeing that the laws are obeyed.

Low wages, gregariousness, ignorance, vice, amusements and transportation facilities play a big part in the overcrowding.

Some cities by exempting certain types of buildings from taxation for a limited period—frequently fifteen years—have stimulated the building of suitable houses. Some cities have attempted to relieve their housing problems by a heavy tax on vacant land. Some European cities have tried municipal housing but this has usually resulted in a heavy financial loss, as was true of the houses built by our Government during the World War.

City planning. Intelligent city planning would do much to prevent the problem of congestion from becoming acute. Proper transportation facilities, parks, playgrounds, and zoning would discourage the congestion which is inevitable in a city which has grown up in the way the down-town districts of most of our largest cities have.

The high death rate of the medieval city was partly due to the congestion which resulted from lack of city planning. The child who has no place to play but a congested street is not apt to be in good physical condition.

Congestion became so bad in Cleveland, Boston and other cities that the buildings in whole districts were torn down and the space used for playgrounds and parks. It is much cheaper to buy land in the suburban districts and reserve it until the city grows. In this way New York secured its immense Central Park for less than it paid later for small plots in congested districts. Many cities of Europe and South America followed the plan used in the remaking of Paris and are of the radial type, but most of our American cities are laid out on the gridiron plan.

Washington, the best-planned of our large cities, combines the two types. There is considerable agitation for garden cities like the garden cities of Europe.

Food. Most families must depend upon people they have never seen for the production of a very large part of their food. The food may be produced thousands of miles

Courtesy, Department of Agriculture

SWINE RAIL INSPECTION

This meat is distributed so widely that the Federal Government has assumed the responsibility of inspection.

away and be handled by many dealers before it reaches the consumer. It is essential that the food be clean and pure. The task of securing wholesome food taxes the resources of the Federal, state and local governments.

In 1906 the Federal Government passed the Pure Food and Drug Act which regulates articles intended for interstate commerce. It provides for the inspection of meats and meat packing establishments, the proper labeling of

food and drugs, and prohibits adulteration. Many of the states have similar laws for goods intended for intra-state trade. Many cities employ food inspectors. It is essential that the public coöperate with the officials in seeing that the dealers keep their goods protected from dirt and insects, and obey other health regulations.

Milk and meat especially deserve careful attention. Probably half the cases of abdominal tuberculosis are due to milk and beef of infected cattle. Pasteurization of milk has done much for health, and Rochester and other cities have found it a big aid in reducing infant mortality. Milk stations and stricter regulations of the production and distribution of milk have aided in the reduction of the infant mortality rate.

A recent report of the United States Health Service says the danger that milk may carry disease, as well as its importance as a food, cannot be overestimated. It has been estimated that thirteen million of our children—one out of every three—drink too little milk. Eight states and fifty-three cities have adopted uniform measures for the sanitation of milk. Pennsylvania has recently extended its milk control to rural districts and the Secretary of Health of that State believes twenty-five per cent of the tuberculosis found in children is due to infected cows.

Many cities have established municipal markets in an effort to provide more wholesome food at reduced rates.

A very large proportion of our population is undernourished. The children of the rich are often as badly undernourished as the children of the poor. The Department of Agriculture classes the foods we need into five groups: vegetables and fruits; meat, milk and other foods depended on for efficient protein; cereals; sugar and sugary foods; fats and fat foods. The diet must be well-balanced as well as plentiful, and should contain vitamins. School lunches are now provided by many schools.

Water. Impure water has been a scourge through the centuries. Athens and Rome brought their water from the highlands, and the remains of the aqueducts of Rome remind us of her grandeur. Waterworks were neglected after the Fall of Rome and it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that any real progress was made in securing a better supply of water.

Today Los Angeles brings her water two hundred and fifty miles from the Sierra Nevada Mountains and New York City brings water one third as far from the Catskill Mountains.

Polluted wells, rivers, and lakes have been the causes of much sickness and many deaths. Filth has found its way through the ground into wells or has been poured into the rivers and lakes which constituted the source from which water for drinking was drawn. Cleveland formerly had its sewage outlet in Lake Erie so close to the intake that the water used by the city was polluted. Frequently a city would pour its filth into a stream from which another city a few miles farther down drew its water.

Today cities strive to secure an unpolluted source of water and use the slow sand filter, the rapid sand filter or chemicals to guard against impurities. Pure water is so essential that an increasing number of water systems are owned by the cities. Water is now furnished so cheaply that a few cities use as much as a thousand gallons per capita a day. Many small towns and villages have very much poorer facilities for pure water than most of our larger cities.

The success of the modern water system is indicated by the fact that the death rate from typhoid fever, the most destructive of water-borne diseases, decreased in the registration area from 35.9 per 100,000 population in 1900 to 6.5 in 1926.

Waste. The most dangerous part of the waste of a

city, town, or even the individual farmstead, is sewage. It is filled with millions of deadly germs from the bodies of the sick, and the first problem is to keep these germs from coming in contact with human beings directly or through the instrumentality of flies, mosquitoes, or other carriers.

Many cities still pour their sewage into nearby bodies of water. Broad irrigation is sometimes used and the sewage becomes a fertilizer. This is an expensive method and one that is dangerous to health. Some towns use cesspools, and frequently discover to their sorrow that some of the contents finds its way into the water supply. The intermittent sand filter which permits air to assist in destroying the undesirable bacteria, is employed widely. Settling tanks are frequently used to reduce the amount of solid matter. Chemicals are often employed to destroy bacteria, and to assist the process of settling.

The modern science of sewage disposal had its origin in 1890 as a result of the experiments made by the Massachusetts State Board of Health at Lawrence.

The principal danger from garbage is that it will become a breeding place for insects. Many cities remove their own garbage, others employ a private concern to do so, while many smaller cities make no provision for its removal. Some of the smaller cities still feed their garbage to hogs and some of the larger ones reduce it for the greases it contains, but burning is the most widely used means of disposal.

Rubbish, collected by the street sweeper or from the homes, is either burned or used for filling, but a few cities sell the privilege of picking from the rubbish heaps any valuable articles. Ashes are generally used for filling and present no serious health problem.

Infant mortality. By infant mortality we mean the death of children under one year of age. In 1915, one

hundred out of every thousand children born in the registration area of the United States died before the end of the first year. Ten years later the number had fallen to seventy-two. The infant mortality rate has also declined in most of the other progressive countries. The surprising variation in the infant mortality rate between civilized countries is shown in the following table which was organized by the United States Children's Bureau from official sources:

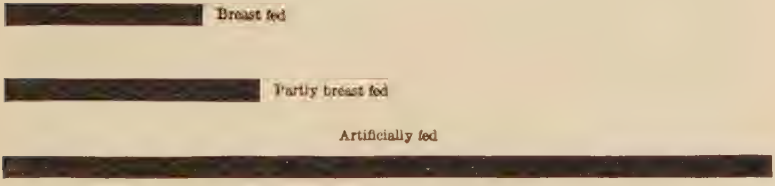
Country and Year	Infant Mortality Rate	Country and Year	Infant Mortality Rate
Australia 1925	53	Japan 1925	142
Austria 1923	141	The Netherlands . 1925	58
Belgium 1925	100	New Zealand . . 1925	40
Canada . . . . . 1924 (Registration area)	79	Northern Ireland . 1925	86
		Norway 1923	50
Chile 1925	258	Scotland 1925	91
Denmark 1924	98	Spain 1923	148
England and Wales 1925	75	Sweden 1921	64
Finland 1925	85	Switzerland . . . 1924	62
France 1923	96	Union of South Africa 1925	68
Germany 1924	109	U. S. Birth Registration Area . . . 1925	72
Hungary 1925	168		
Irish Free State . 1925	68		
Italy 1923	128	Uruguay 1925	115

Our infant mortality rate varies widely between states, races, and city and rural districts. In 1925 Oregon's rate was 61, and Delaware's 91. In 1923 the rate for whites was 73.5 and for negroes 119.6. In 1923 the rural rate was 76, the urban 78. The rate in cities has fallen much more rapidly than in the rural districts.

Some of the things which tend to increase the infant mortality rate are artificial feeding, impure milk, poor housing, employment of mother outside the home, low wages of father, disease and ignorance of parents, poor sanitary conditions, improper clothing, kissing, and flies. An active campaign is being carried on to reduce the rate. The Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921 provided more

than one million dollars of Federal funds annually to coöperate with the states in maternity and infancy welfare work, and this act was extended to 1929. Carefully selected sources of milk and care in handling it have caused a big reduction of deaths in some cities. Infant welfare centers, nurseries, baby clinics, better housing, and education of mothers have helped to reduce the number of deaths.

Health education. The health work in the schools is helping millions of children form correct health habits.



Courtesy, U. S. Children's Bureau

RELATIVE INFANT MORTALITY, BY TYPE OF FEEDING

This graph is based on studies in eight cities of the United States. It shows that artificially fed infants are much more apt to die than breast fed ones—or even partly breast fed ones. Many mothers who refuse to nurse their babies have no idea of the danger to which they are subjecting them.

Personal hygiene, physical education, athletics and public health are receiving much emphasis in many of our most progressive schools. The school physician and school nurse are finding many defects, and getting the pupils acquainted with the benefits of the medical profession.

There are nutrition clinics, dental clinics, eye clinics, and inoculations to protect from various diseases. Trained leaders are now provided for hundreds of playgrounds. Government bureaus, the medical societies, the insurance companies, the newspapers, and the public libraries are contributing their part to the increase of the knowledge of health.

Progress. The progress in matters of health has been very rapid in the last generation or two. Medical knowl-

edge and skill have increased rapidly. Diseases and injuries that ended fatally in many cases a generation ago are now controlled with ease by the general practitioner, the specialist or the surgeon.

We have an extensive public health organization with its local and state boards of health and the United States Public Health Service. Our public health nurses increased

Courtesy, The Rockefeller Foundation

HEALTH CLINIC FOR INFANTS IN RURAL ALABAMA

Why are many communities beginning to feel more strongly a sense of responsibility for the welfare of infants?

from one hundred and thirty in 1901 to eleven thousand in 1921. By 1924, two hundred and thirty counties in twenty-eight states had a full-time health organization.

We have five thousand hospitals which treat more than five million patients annually, and twenty-five hundred dispensaries. The Rockefeller Foundation spends millions of dollars annually in health work, and the Russell Sage Foundation and other private organizations are engaged in active campaigns. The International Health Office under the League of Nations is attempting to secure greater

coöperation between the nations. We are gathering many vital statistics to guide us in our work.

Some excellent results are apparent already. Most of the very destructive diseases are showing a decline. The death rate for diphtheria in the registration area has dropped from 43.3 per 100,000 population in 1900 to 7.5 in 1926. Yellow fever has been banished, and progress is

Courtesy, State Board of Health of Kentucky

HEALTH EDUCATION IN LOUISVILLE

being made in the control of malaria and hookworm which have been so common.

While there has been a small, steady increase in the number of deaths from heart disease, diabetes and cancer, the increase has been much slower than the decrease from many communicable diseases.

The death rate per 1,000 population for the registration area was about 19.8 in 1880, about 19.6 in 1890, 17.6 in 1900, 15 in 1910, and 12.2 in 1926. The life expectancy at birth is now about fifty-five years. We have made great strides

since the Middles Ages when the average length of life was probably little more than a third of what it is at present, but we are far behind New Zealand, which leads the world in health matters, with its death rate of eight or

Courtesy, American Red Cross

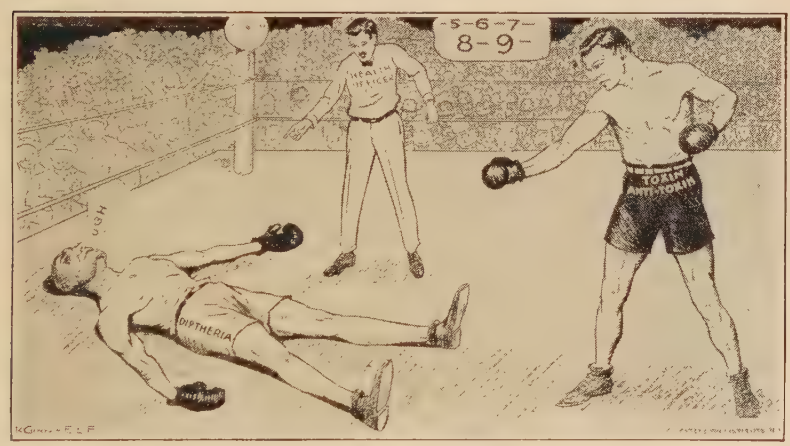
CONCENTRATION WITHOUT CONTAGION

Nearly half a million persons who were driven from their homes by the Mississippi flood of 1927 were cared for by the Red Cross in eighty-four refugee camps. This is a picture of one of the five camps at Vicksburg, Mississippi, where 20,000 refugees were concentrated. There was very little sickness in spite of the great concentration. A few years ago it would have been impossible to hold contagious diseases in check so well.

nine per thousand, infant mortality rate of forty, and a life expectancy of sixty years. Since much of our health information has been verified with scientific accuracy, we can use it with the greatest confidence.

Ignorance, carelessness, selfishness and poverty are some of the greatest hindrances to more rapid progress in public health. Many individuals remain ignorant of even the

most fundamental facts of health. Perhaps even a greater number are careless and endanger their own lives and the lives of others. Far too many would rather risk giving others a contagious disease than deny themselves by remaining away from business or social gatherings. Some are too poor to get proper nourishment and to employ



Courtesy, Life Extension Institute

"KNOCKING OUT" DIPHTHERIA

Many communities by the use of toxin anti-toxin have reduced the death rate from diphtheria very rapidly.

other preventive and curative measures. Each of us can do at least a little better in some respect. Let us work together to secure more rapid progress!

Questions on the Text

1. What is the significance of keeping fit?
2. Show that disease is a social problem.
3. What are the symptoms of tuberculosis?
4. What connection is there between housing and health?
5. How does city planning affect health?
6. Discuss the relation of milk and meat to public health.
7. How does water become polluted?

8. Discuss the danger of waste.
9. What things tend to increase the infant mortality rate?
10. What are some important sources of health education?
11. Show that we are making progress in matters of health.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Make out a daily health program.
2. *Resolved:* That every person ought to have a thorough physical examination at least once a year.
3. Are the quarantine regulations of your community obeyed willingly? Enforced strictly?
4. List the principal steps in the development of the control of communicable diseases. Be prepared to discuss one step fully.
5. Make out a program for the prevention of tuberculosis.
6. Report on housing in your community.
7. Criticize city planning in one city.
8. How can your community secure more wholesome food? Better water? More satisfactory elimination of waste? Lower infant mortality rate? More efficient health education?
9. List the greatest dangers to health in your school. Organize a class health project to reduce one of these dangers. Do the same for your community.
10. *Resolved:* That we should put more time, energy and money into public health work.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

HEALTH AND SAFETY IN INDUSTRY

THE PROBLEM: Many industries have special dangers to health and safety. Even in other industries, some precautions must be taken. Special dangers are connected with the labor of women and children. How can we guard against each danger without slowing down production too much? What should we do for those whose sickness or injury is due to industry?

Occupational diseases. Dr. W. G. Thompson defines occupational diseases as "maladies due to specific poisons, mechanical irritants, physical and mental strain, or faulty environment, resulting from specific conditions of labor." A recent bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor statistics lists seven hundred hazardous occupations, divided into nine classes: abnormalities of temperature; compressed air; dampness; dust; extreme light; infections; poor illumination; repeated motion, pressure, and shock; and the poisons.

The poisons are especially destructive. Lead poisoning accounts for more than half the serious metal poisoning and is especially common in lead mining, smelting, piping and manufacturing of paints. Mercury and arsenic are the cause of much metal poisoning. Hydrochloric acids, which are used widely in bleaching cloth, and nitroglycerin, which is used in the manufacture of explosives, are important examples of harmful fluid poisons. The gases and vapors, such as carbon dioxide in the fermentation of fruit, carbon bisulphid in the vulcanizing of rubber, ammonia in cleaning, and phosphorus in the making of matches have been the cause of much damage.

Dusty trades irritate organs and make one more sus-

ceptible to disease. This is the cause of the high mortality rate from tuberculosis in dusty trades. Hookworm is especially common among miners and the agricultural laborers of the South.

Some of the European countries are far ahead of us in handling occupational diseases with the result that poisoning from lead and gases has shown a great decrease. Lead poisoning in the leading European countries is probably

Gas Masks in Time of Peace

It doesn't pay to take chances of accidents and occupational diseases.

not over one tenth as prevalent as in the United States or over one tenth what it was in those countries before preventive measures were introduced. A few concerns in the United States have almost done away with it by preventive measures.

Accidents. In both frequency and severity of industrial accidents the United States leads the world. More than twenty thousand persons a year are killed and two million or more injured in our industries. These accidents, the majority of which are avoidable, probably represent an economic loss of a billion dollars. Our industrial casualties

during the World War were ten times as numerous as our military casualties.

The most dangerous industries are mining, fishing, navigation, railroading, electrical work, lumbering, manufacture of metal products, and construction. The injury may be due primarily to the nature of the industry, to the failure of the employer to provide safety devices, or to the carelessness or ignorance of the workman. The handling of tools or other objects, machinery, falling objects and the fall of workmen are the most important specific causes of injury. Accidents are frequently due to inability to read or understand instructions and some native-born workmen refuse to work with the foreign-born on this account.

We are making considerable progress in preventing accidents. Massachusetts in 1886 passed the first law requiring accidents to be reported and other states soon followed so that we have come into possession of accurate data with which to work. Progress has been made in all the principal lines of industry.

In 1888, 2,070 railroad employees were killed and 20,148 reported injured. In 1921 there were 1,446 killed and 104,530 injured. The increase of injured was partly due to more careful reporting in 1921, but it and the ratio of deaths was affected by the greater number of employees in 1920.

Between 1910 and 1914 the accident frequency rate in the iron and steel industry for each one million hours' exposure was 59.2; in 1921 it had fallen to 30.8. Between 1907 and 1921 the fatality rate for coal mines dropped thirty-four per cent, and production rose seventy-one per cent per death. Other industries, too, indicate that we are making progress in reducing accidents.

The first law requiring factory safeguards was passed as early as 1877. A few states about 1880 passed laws to reduce accidents on railroads, and Congress in 1893 pro-

vided for greater safety for interstate lines. It was not, however, until the beginning of the present century that a careful and widespread attempt to require safety devices was made. The laws have done much to reduce the number of accidents.

The recent safety campaign carried on by the National Safety Council and other organizations has helped by causing the employer to install safety devices and the workman to be more careful. Professor J. R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin says some employers have reduced accidents ninety per cent and consider money used for the safety program the most profitable of their investments.

Other factors. Sanitation, ventilation, lighting and cleanliness vitally affect health in industry. Fortunately these are receiving much attention and many states have helpful laws. The great difficulty is in seeing that the laws are obeyed with the comparatively small number of inspectors provided. Many employers know when to expect the inspector and are ready for him. In many states the inspector cannot visit each factory oftener than once a year.

Sweatshops which frequently consist of one poorly ventilated room or tenement home where the hours are extremely long and the pay low constitute one of our gravest problems. The sweatshop workers are chiefly foreign-born or the minor children of the foreign-born, and are usually found where ignorance is densest and congestion worst.

Low wages frequently lead to undernourishment and poor health as well as reduced efficiency. The fatigue produced by long hours of work is apt to be associated with a high accident rate. The accident rate is several times as high among the inexperienced as the experienced.

Labor legislation. The Constitution guarantees to each citizen the right of contract and that he shall not be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law.

The courts have held that the right to sell one's labor is, in general, the right of contract, and that "due process of law" means judicial proceeding rather than legislative enactment. Hundreds of statutes have been declared unconstitutional and the decisions of different courts, or even the same court, are sometimes contradictory. Frequently one's opinion on economic and social questions has determined one's attitude toward the constitutionality of a law.

The courts have shown little disposition to set aside the laws affecting children as the state has been interpreted as having a peculiar position as guardian to these. A very large part of social legislation gets its authority from the police power of the state which is capable of very indefinite extension.

Much of the first social legislation was for children. The terrible condition of the children who entered the factories of England soon after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution led Parliament in 1802 to regulate the health and morals of the pauper children who had been apprenticed to the operators of cotton mills. The law of 1833 which forbade children to work in textile mills until they reached the age of nine and the law of 1842 which forbade children under ten to work in the mines were progressive measures for that time.

Connecticut in 1813 and Massachusetts in 1836 required education for certain classes of working children, and six years later both states provided a maximum of ten hours a day for children under twelve in the factories. The hours for children have been shortened, and by 1928 thirty-seven states had established a forty-four or forty-eight hour week for children under sixteen.

New Hampshire in 1847 passed the first maximum hour law for women—a ten-hour law—and a few other states limited the hours for women a little later, but the first enforceable law was passed in 1879. In 1908 the Supreme

Court upheld the Oregon ten-hour law for women and in 1915 the California eight-hour law. At present almost every state limits the hours of women. Half the states have an eight- or nine-hour day and most others a ten-hour day.

Laws to limit the hours of men have not found favor with either the courts or workmen, except in hazardous trades or those, as railroading, where the safety of the public depends on the efficiency of the workmen. By the Adamson law of 1916 Congress made eight hours the legal day for railroad trainmen. Some public employees since Van Buren's Presidency have enjoyed a shorter day than was usual with private concerns. Congress in 1868 made eight hours the legal day for laborers, workmen and mechanics in the Federal employ, and by 1900 a fourth of the states and some cities had an eight-hour day for public employees.

Minimum wage legislation which originated in Australia and was introduced in the United States by Massachusetts in 1912 is now in force in a fourth of the states. It is an attempt to remedy the menace to health and morals which comes from extremely low wages. Minimum wage laws abroad apply to both sexes, but in the United States they apply to women and children only, except in the case of public employees.

Sometimes a flat rate of so many dollars a week has been established. In other instances a board has been set up to determine the wage according to some principle, as a "living wage." The Supreme Court upheld the Oregon minimum wage law but later declared a similar law in the District of Columbia unconstitutional. The minimum wage, like the regulation of hours, is opposed by many labor leaders.

Much legislation has been passed regulating conditions in mining, transportation, and other dangerous trades, and this legislation frequently applies to men. Many states

have laws requiring the weekly payment of wages, and forbidding the employer to require the employee to trade at the company's store. In a third of the states Saturday afternoon is a legal holiday, and a few states and the Federal Government require one day of rest in seven.

Social insurance. The workmen's compensation legislation is by far the most important social insurance in the United States. Before the establishment of these laws the injured workman had to sue to recover damages for an injury, and his chances of getting anything were usually lessened by the "fellow servant" doctrine and the doctrines of "assumption of risk" and "contributory negligence." If he were fortunate enough to secure a verdict against the skilled lawyers of the company he frequently paid half the damages as a lawyer's fee.

Under the compensation laws the employee or his family is paid so much for each kind of injury unless he injures himself willfully. The theory is that the industry should bear the burden of the injury. Some did not believe the employer should, or could legally, be forced to pay anything when he was not at fault.

Many of the European countries had such laws before the close of the nineteenth century. Maryland in 1902 passed the first compensation law in the United States, but it was declared unconstitutional and the New Jersey law of 1911 was the first to stand the test of constitutionality. Forty-two states now have such laws but they vary considerably in the different states as to the waiting time necessary before payment commences, the amount of the payment, and other matters. Twelve states and the Federal Government recognize occupational diseases for purposes of compensation.

In some states acceptance of the provisions is compulsory, in others voluntary. In some states there is a state fund in which the employer must, or may, insure. In thirty-

three states the employer may insure in private companies or provide his own insurance. The laws are winning widespread praise. Perhaps they have decreased the vigilance of the employee to avoid injury to a slight extent, but they have greatly stimulated the employer to provide safety measures.

One important criticism urged against our systems of compensation is that there are too many exemptions. Agriculture and domestic employment are exempted in most states, businesses with fewer than six or seven employees are often exempted, and casual laborers are exempted everywhere. E. H. Downey expresses the extreme view of protection: "Compulsory compensation should cover all employments, all employers, all employees, and all injuries, whether by accident or disease, which arise in the course of employment."

There is very little public social insurance in the United States outside of the compensation laws. The Pennsylvania law providing assistance for the aged was declared unconstitutional. A few of the states have old age and invalidity pensions for state employees, to which both the state and the employee contribute. The Federal Government has a similar plan for the civil service employees. Most of the states have mothers' pensions which are straight gifts from the government. There is a good deal of insurance for accident and sickness, and some unemployment insurance by labor unions. Some labor unions and fraternal organizations pay old age insurance.

A survey in 1925 showed some two hundred private business concerns with pension systems for old age or disability, or both. Some of the concerns are extremely large, and two telephone and telegraph companies had approximately 280,000 employees. Many concerns require the employee to contribute toward the insurance fund, but many do not. Most of these systems have been established

since 1900. Europe has far more extensive systems of social insurance than the United States.

Welfare work and recreation. Many concerns have established welfare work for their employees. Labor union leaders are usually opposed to welfare work when established by the employer as it suggests a patronizing attitude, and weakens the influence of the union. The workmen

Courtesy, The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.

A RESTAURANT FOR EMPLOYEES

Substantial, wholesome food at reasonable rates benefits both employees and employer.

are apt to feel the welfare work is being paid for by money taken from them.

Sports, lunches, housing, reading-rooms, loan funds, medical examinations and pensions are some lines of activity. A first-aid room is now regarded as a necessity in the factory. Industrial nursing has become an important occupation. According to Florence Wright, the industrial nurse should have a working knowledge of psychology, civics, and social, industrial, and relief problems.

The American workman usually prefers to choose his own recreation even if he has to pay for it.

Women in industry. Woman has always been an important factor in industrial life but before the Industrial Revolution her work was mostly in the home. With the development of the factory system in the United States a century ago women began entering the factories in increasing numbers. Two important problems came with this change: the effect of the absence of the woman—often the wife and mother—from the home, and the effect of the conditions of work at the factory on the woman. The great increase of the number of women in many industries during the World War did much to arouse interest in her position in industry.

Many women are continuing the kind of work they commenced during the war. In 1910 there were 8,075,772 females ten years of age or older gainfully employed in the United States; in 1920 the number had risen to 8,549,511. In 1910, 22.5 per cent of the total number were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and 22.6 per cent were so engaged in 1920. Women have not been going into industry in increasing proportion but there has been a good deal of change from one branch of the industry to another.

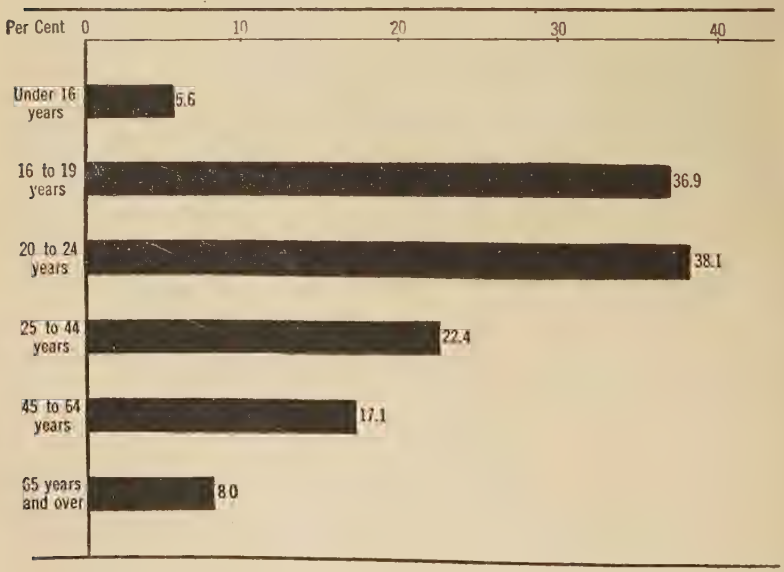
The percentage of employed women over ten years of age in the various age groups is shown by the graph on page 520.

One of the most serious problems connected with the woman worker is the low wage she usually receives. Before the World War perhaps half the women workers received less than six dollars a week.

Some important reasons for her receiving lower wages than men are: Physical weakness, which makes it impossible for her to enter some fields of activity; custom, which has still further limited the occupations open to her. Fewer

women learn a trade. Many women expect to stop working outside the home after marriage and, as they are expecting to work for a shorter numbers of years, are more willing to accept low wages, especially if their family continues to bear part of the burden of their support. Lack of labor organizations to bargain for them, and greater difficulty of moving from one part of the country to another also cause the employer to feel justified in offering women a lower wage and influences them to accept it.

Women are frequently required to do work that is injurious because of cramped position or strain. Many states prohibit night work and require rest periods, rest rooms, seats, facilities for washing, and other things that lessen the



Courtesy, U. S. Women's Bureau

PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN EACH AGE GROUP GAINFULLY OCCUPIED: 1920

This diagram shows that more than one-third of all women in the United States from twenty to twenty-four years of age, and more than one-third from sixteen to nineteen years of age, were employed at some gainful occupation. The graph shows that a very large number of girls commence work about sixteen. What work is suitable for women after they are sixty-five?

dangers of the work to physical, mental, and moral well-being. Most of the leading countries of Europe signed an agreement a generation ago to prohibit night work for women.

The wife and mother who works away from home has less time to make her home attractive, or even clean, and to care for her children. Thousands of garment-makers,

Courtesy, U. S. Women's Bureau

MACHINE IRONING

A good work room—light without glare, proper ventilation, exhausts for drawing off heat and humidity, guarded machines, seats for work and rest periods.

workers on artificial flowers, and others who do their industrial tasks in their homes are freed of the strict discipline of factory control, but frequently make the home unhealthful and destroy normal family life. In 1920 Congress established the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

Child labor. The census of 1920 reported 1,060,858 children, ten to fifteen years old, engaged in some wage-earning occupation. Nearly 650,000 of these were in

agriculture and more than 185,000 in manufacturing and mechanical industries. This was a great decrease of 46.7 per cent from 1910 when 1,990,225 children were engaged in some wage-earning occupation, 1,432,428 being in agricultural pursuits and 260,944 in manufacturing and me-

Courtesy, U. S. Women's Bureau

LOOPING IN A HOSIERY MILL

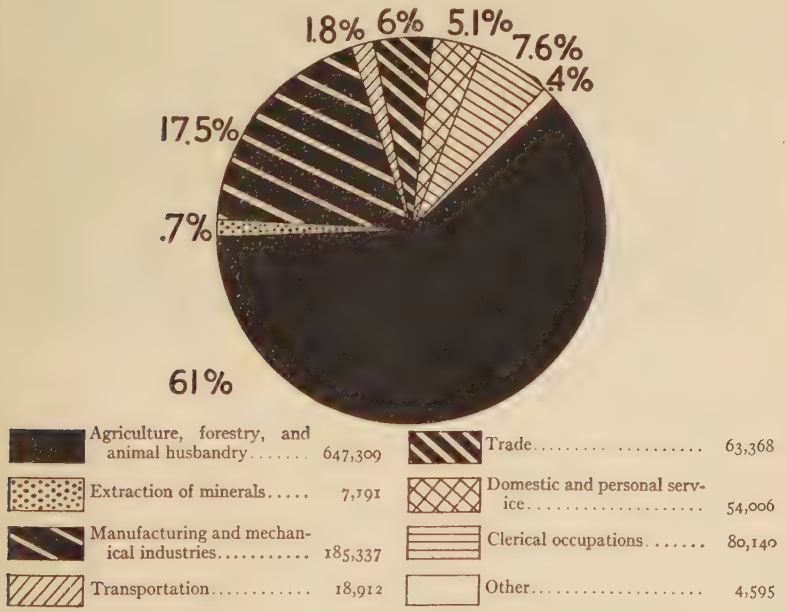
Note the good natural light; adjustable work chairs; sanitary drinking fountain with jet at an angle of thirty degrees to sixty degrees. Can you suggest improvements?

chanical industries. The West North Central states showed the greatest decrease, fifty-nine per cent, and the Pacific states the smallest decrease, twenty per cent. Four Eastern states showed a slight increase and Arizona an increase of sixty-two per cent.

The states vary widely in the excellence of their child labor laws and the extent to which they enforce them. The divisions which had the largest number and the

largest proportion of employed children in 1920 were the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central states. It is extremely difficult to get accurate statistics of child labor, but many observers believe there are at present 2,000,000 children, ten to fifteen years of age, gainfully employed during a large part of the year.

The nature of the work in many industries is a menace to the health of the growing child. Repeated breathing of the dust of the mines, or the small particles thrown off by the machines, extreme heat, high rate of speed, and the strain of carrying too heavy a load are some of the greatest menaces. Long hours of monotonous work place a strain on the vitality of the child.



Courtesy, U. S. Children's Bureau

CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

This diagram shows the proportion of children ten to fifteen years of age, inclusive, in each principal division of occupations, 1920.

The co-workers of the employed children are frequently a menace to morals. There is little time or energy left for schooling which means that the opportunity of advancement is greatly lessened. Hundreds of thousands of these children have no opportunity to learn a trade and must continue in the ranks of the unskilled.

Courtesy, National Child Labor Committee

OYSTER SHUCKERS

What of the future of these children?

The average wage of the child is $3.50 or $4.00 a week and this low wage enables the child to underbid the adult and force him out of an occupation or cause the lowering of the adult's wage. Frequently the wages of father, mother and children are only enough to enable the family to subsist and in the long run the economic effectiveness and the wage of the family are lowered by the labor of the children.

There is a good deal of agitation for the restriction of

child labor in agricultural and domestic pursuits, which are frequently outside the provisions of the law.

The prevention of child labor requires legislation, education, some industrial reorganization and an aroused public opinion. Most of the states require the child to be fourteen years of age before working in any kind of manufacturing establishment and the tendency is toward a fifteen or sixteen year minimum. One state has no minimum age and many states permit exceptions to the fourteen year minimum. Some states have a minimum age of sixteen, eighteen or twenty-one for certain hazardous occupations. The states differ widely in their requirements as to the educational position and physical condition of the child and the administration of the law.

The backwardness of many states in protecting children from harmful labor and the resulting hardship sometimes brought on the employers of a state with high standards in their competition with the employers of a state with low standards has given rise to much agitation for Federal regulation of child labor. In 1916 Congress tried to regulate it by excluding goods produced by children from interstate and foreign commerce. In 1919 Congress tried to tax it out of existence by levying an excise tax of ten per cent on the annual net profits of manufacturing establishments, mines and quarries using child labor. Both laws were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

In 1924 an amendment was proposed by Congress which would permit the Federal Government to regulate or prohibit the work of persons under eighteen years of age. Only a few of the state legislatures have accepted the amendment and so many have rejected it that it is certain this power will not be given to the Federal Government in the near future.

We need a much more active campaign to make all parents and others realize the harmful effects of child labor,

a more rigid enforcement of the laws already passed, and a stricter observance of our compulsory school laws.

Questions on the Text

1. Name nine classes of occupational diseases, and discuss one.
2. What evidence have we that we are making progress in the prevention of industrial accidents?
3. Discuss labor legislation as to hours and wages.
4. Criticize the workmen's compensation legislation.
5. Criticize industrial welfare work.
6. Why do women receive lower wages than men?
7. Why is child labor harmful?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What are the most hazardous occupations in your community? What is being done to prevent occupational disease and accident?
2. Make suggestions concerning the prevention of occupational diseases and accidents.
3. Choose one occupation and show what accidents are apt to occur in it.
4. Describe a sweatshop.
5. Report on one of the following: the decisions of the Supreme Court affecting labor; maximum hour legislation; minimum wage legislation.
6. Report on labor legislation and social insurance in your State. Information can be obtained from your State government or from the United States Department of Labor.
7. How is one European country controlling occupational diseases and accidents?
8. Report on social insurance in some European country. On private social insurance in the United States.
9. *Resolved:* That our workmen's compensation laws should include all employees.
10. Report on the welfare work or recreational activities of a large industrial establishment.
11. Interview a woman engaged in industrial work concerning the conditions of her employment.

12. Write the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor for its standards for women workers and discuss the standards.

13. Why does the state regulate the work of women more carefully than the work of men?

14. What kinds of work are most injurious to women? To children?

15. Prepare a program for the prevention of what you consider undesirable child labor.

16. *Resolved:* That the states should ratify the child labor amendment.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

UNEMPLOYMENT

THE PROBLEM: To see clearly the results and causes of unemployment so that we shall try hard and wisely to prevent it.

Results. Three classes of persons must be considered in discussing unemployment. The unemployables are those who are unable to work because of physical, mental or moral deficiencies. The unemployed are employable persons who are without work. The underemployed or partially employed are those who are not working full time. Underemployment may take the form of a shorter working day or a smaller number of days a week—these forms are especially common during periods of depression—or it may be due to such causes as waiting for materials and equipment. There is a good deal of waiting even when business is active.

Unemployment has been called our greatest economic waste. It is that—and a great deal more. It has other grave economic results, and its social and political effects are extremely bad.

It causes social and political discontent and arouses class hatred. Most of us feel we have a right to work and earn a living. We would rather work than beg or go hungry. When one of us is unable to find work there is apt to arise a feeling that something is wrong with society and the government.

Unemployment lowers the standard as well as the plane of living, prevents thrift, wipes out savings and causes poverty, pauperism, vagrancy, undernourishment and disease. Unskilled laborers suffer most from unemployment. Since unskilled laborers receive the smallest wage

there is usually little or nothing saved, and suffering follows swiftly on the heels of unemployment. The half-starved body is not one to resist disease, nor do the unemployed poor have adequate medical care.

Unemployment weakens morale and causes vice and crime. It creates pessimism and this is not a frame of mind which causes one to resist temptation. Gambling, drunkenness and other vicious habits are quickly formed and unem-

Courtesy, The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.

EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

Both accepted and rejected applicants feel more kindly toward the company that provides a comfortable place to wait while applications are being considered.

ployment frequently creates situations which lead to the formation of them. It gives opportunity for association with criminal gangs, and causes a greater desire for property of others.

Unemployment weakens family ties. When the breadwinner ceases to be the breadwinner the family often loses a good deal of harmony. It causes much desertion, and many unemployed men who go to other parts of the country looking for work never see their families again.

The fear of unemployment hangs perpetually above millions of workers.

The unemployed person and his, or her, family are not the only ones who suffer because of unemployment. The employer suffers because it is costly to dismiss and hire. He, the capitalist, and the landowner also suffer because of idle management, idle capital, and idle land. The public suffers because less wealth has been produced and because of the bad social conditions which result.

Since all of us suffer because of unemployment, let us get at the causes and reduce it to a minimum!

Causes. Many of the results of unemployment are also causes. Discouragement, poverty, undernourishment, disease, gambling, drunkenness, immorality and crime are some of the results which cause more unemployment. The causes of poverty, disease, defectiveness, crime, drunkenness and other bad conditions are really causes of unemployment.

A great change has taken place in our conception of unemployment. For a long time it was looked upon as a matter of personal character. Each able-bodied person who was unemployed had no one but himself to blame. Later, it was looked upon chiefly as a lack of adjustment of industry. We had not got the machinery which came as a result of the Industrial Revolution and labor adjusted properly. Maladjustments of industry were to blame. At present, great periods of unemployment are regarded primarily as a matter of finance. Financial crises or panics are held responsible.

Although financial troubles are chiefly responsible for the great cycles of unemployment, other causes are more important in causing unemployment at other times. Personal character and maladjustments of industry are responsible for a very large part of the unemployment which occurs regularly throughout the year. Maladjustments of industry are responsible for most of the seasonal unemployment. Certain occupations have much unemployment

during certain seasons. Farming, the building industry, coal mining, the clothing industry, shoemaking and many other occupations have great seasonal fluctuations.

A long list of specific causes—most of them included in the three great causes we have discussed—should be kept in mind: the introduction of labor-saving machinery and changes of method, specialization, inability of employer to forecast the future accurately, changes in tariff schedules, bad conditions abroad, changes in style, bad sales methods, immigration, unwillingness or inability of labor to move, large families among the unskilled classes, labor troubles, accidents, low mentality, shiftlessness, lack of industrial and other forms of education, child labor, old age, bad government, and social and racial prejudice.

Reducing. The most important but the most difficult problem is to secure greater stability of finances and prices. These problems involve the whole business world and are so difficult that we have not been able to learn the nature of them very thoroughly. Probably the Federal reserve system and more careful managing of private finances are doing something toward solving the problem.

Standardization of products will help a great deal. This would enable the employer to plan for the future and not stop producing so quickly when conditions begin to be bad. It would permit a better distribution of work. Frequent changes of style are especially bad in causing seasonal unemployment in the clothing industry.

Vocational guidance and vocational training should have a great part in reducing unemployment. The misfits and the untrained are the first to be laid off: the former because of poor work; the latter because of the great numbers of the untrained. The boy or girl who realizes the evils of unemployment will prepare to do at least one thing well. Such a person can face the future with much greater confidence than the person who trusts to luck.

Employment exchanges can do a great deal to bring the idle workman and the vacant position together. There are many municipal and a few state exchanges. The United States Employment Service is coöperating actively with the other public agencies. Private exchanges are helping solve the problem, but unfair practices have been practiced by many of these, and stricter control is being brought to bear.

Immigration restrictions, better distribution of public improvements, better government, better home training, and a reduction of the causes of accidents, sickness, crime and other bad conditions will be of service.

Provisions for the unemployed. It has been estimated that four or five million able-bodied persons are unemployed during our greatest periods of depression. This is one out of every eight or ten of our working population. Many thousands are out of work when business is normal. Our plans can reduce the number of the unemployed greatly but what of those who still have no work? What has been done to provide for them?

The small amount of unemployment insurance provided by the trade unions represents about all the provision made in this country except that made by the individual employee who puts away a "nest egg" for "the rainy day." Bills providing for insurance by the states have been introduced in some of our legislatures, but public sentiment has been against this form of insurance.

In Europe there has been a great deal of public or semi-public unemployment insurance and we can learn something from the way it has worked there.

The *Ghent* system which originated in Ghent, Belgium, and soon spread to other cities, is administered by the trade unions. The trade unions contribute toward the insurance fund and contributions are made from the public treasury. The public feels it is better to contribute in this way than

through charity. The system works fairly well. Its success is largely due to the fact that the trade union members are in a position to watch one another and prevent abuses by the lazy.

England has the most important national system of unemployment insurance. The law of 1920 brought compulsory insurance to practically every person sixteen years

Courtesy, World Wide Photos

FREE DINNER FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

One thousand of New York's unemployed are being given a chicken dinner free at this restaurant. Hundreds are in line waiting their turn. Doubtless most of the men would much rather have work. Visualize the families of these men. Do you suppose that somewhere there were employers in need of labor at the very moment this picture was taken?

of age or older employed under contract, except agricultural workers, domestic servants, outworkers, and nonmanual workers receiving more than $1,216.50 a year. Employers, employees and the state contribute to the fund.

The insurance fund in England was soon exhausted and large sums were contributed by the government. Many observers say this is proof the system has broken down,

but industrial conditions were very bad in England after the war and this must be taken into account. The system seems to work fairly well in normal times.

Compulsory unemployment insurance was adopted in Italy in 1919, in Austria, Russia and Queensland in 1920, and in Poland in 1924.

The usual plan in unemployment insurance is to permit the unemployed to receive an allowance only after so many days of unemployment, and to limit the number of weeks each year that one may receive the allowance. Tests are frequently applied to prove willingness to work. In the English plan, the person must register at the nearest employment agency and accept work when offered.

Since we have no public unemployment insurance in the United States we usually treat the penniless unemployed as we treat any class of paupers and provide "soup kitchens," "bread lines," baskets for the home, bundles of discarded clothing and a little fuel. It is extremely difficult in periods of great unemployment to separate the worthy from the unworthy. Supervision of relief can do some good even at this time, but when so many calls for help are received, it is impossible to investigate or supervise to any great extent.

Temporary relief by family, friends or neighbors is usually least destructive to one's self-respect, and very helpful. The best way of all to help the able-bodied unemployed is to find work for him, or her.

Questions on the Text

1. What are the results of unemployment?
2. Divide the causes of unemployment discussed in this chapter into two classes: personal and environmental. Suggest other causes.
3. Criticize the author's suggestions for reducing unemployment.

4. Compare the Ghent and the English systems of unemployment insurance.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What results of unemployment has the author omitted? Are there any good results?

2. *Resolved:* That unemployed labor is more detrimental to society than idle capital.

3. Which causes of unemployment are most apt to affect you personally?

4. Make a study of the business cycle.

5. Prepare a program for reducing unemployment. Report on one public employment agency. On one private employment agency.

6. Show the relation of vocational training to unemployment.

7. List the advantages and disadvantages of your receiving vocational training.

8. Make a list of some, or all, of the unemployed persons in your community. What is the most important cause of their unemployment?

9. Help one unemployed person find work.

10. Report on one system of unemployment insurance.

11. *Resolved:* That the states should provide a compulsory system of unemployment insurance for large numbers of employees.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

RURAL PROBLEMS

THE PROBLEM: Millions of farmers are landowners, capitalists, laborers and enterprisers. Many difficult problems arise out of this fourfold relationship. Many social problems are as difficult as the economic ones. What are the most important economic and social problems of rural communities? What is being done to solve each of them? What else should be done?

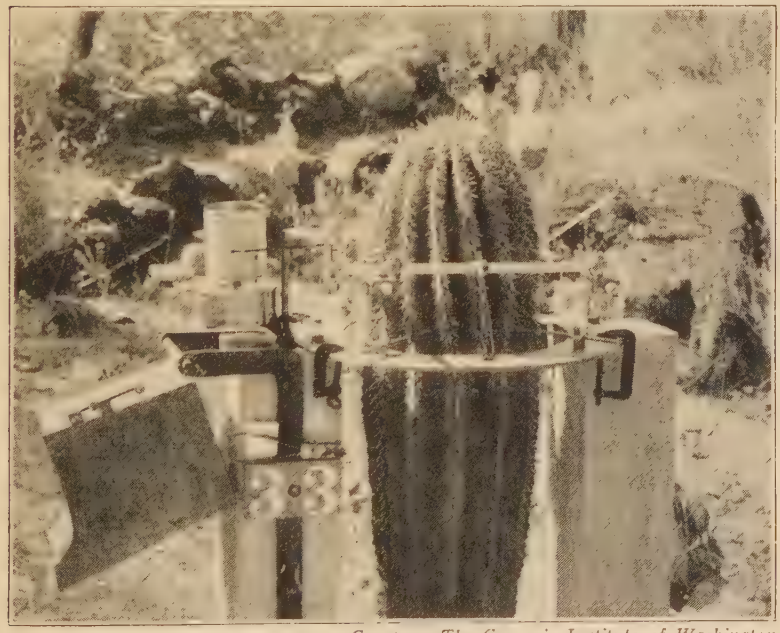
Awakening of interest. Many lines of evidence indicate that interest in rural problems is growing rapidly. Before the twentieth century few people except the farmers manifested much interest in rural life and the interest of each farmer was principally local in nature. Within a decade or two many books on rural economics and rural sociology have appeared and many courses in agriculture are now given in elementary school, high school, college and university. Many demonstration cars and exhibits are being used by experiment stations and other agencies to serve rural communities. County agents are doing a very important work. Many magazines are devoting much space to rural life. The automobilists from the cities spend considerable time discussing the rural districts they have visited. The political activity of the farmers in some of the states of the Northwest—especially the activity of the "Farm Bloc" in Congress—has increased the interest of many people in agricultural conditions.

One of the most encouraging signs is that our treatment of rural problems is becoming more earnest and scientific. In the words of Professor J. M. Gillette of the University of North Dakota, "We have passed through the rhetorical and preachment stage of treating rural life problems."

Personnel. Somewhat fewer than half our population

live in places of less than twenty-five hundred population. The personnel of the rural groups is extremely varied. All races are represented. Native-born whites, foreign-born whites, negroes and Asiatics are found in large numbers on the farm. The percentage of foreign-born whites is much smaller, however, than in the cities. All degrees of intellectual ability and all degrees of culture are present also. All degrees of wealth are found, from the day laborer who lives from hand to mouth, or the owner who ekes out a scanty existence on a rocky hillside, to the millionaire who lives in luxury.

When we consider the great need of coöperation, these differences become highly significant, for it is extremely



Courtesy, The Carnegie Institute of Washington

DENDROGRAPH RECORDING GROWTH AND CHANGES IN VOLUME OF YOUNG TREE-CACTUS

Science is now aiding agriculture in many ways.

hard to get mixed groups to work in harmony. The farmers are generally more individualistic than the people of the city and this is doubtless due to the fact that their social contacts have been fewer.

Production. It is essential for all groups that the farmer produce. No one is hurt by his prosperity when it is due to an abundant harvest. The more generously Nature treats him the more all of us have for consumption. His producing power is vitally affected by soil exhaustion, insect pests, the weather and other factors. Probably he will soon be forced to give far more attention to intensive farming as is done in the thickly populated countries of Europe. As it is, we produce about $12,000,000,000 worth of agricultural commodities annually.

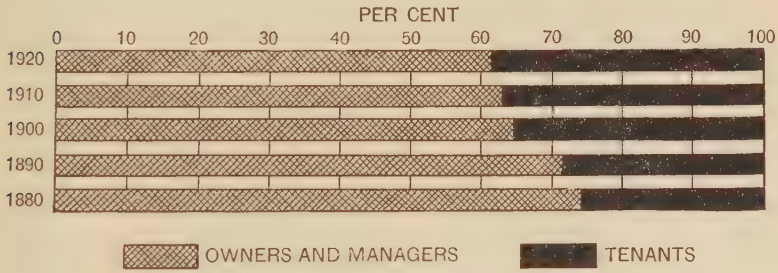
The great improvements in agricultural machinery have aided production tremendously and make it possible to increase production with even a diminished labor force. The use of modern machinery makes a considerable supply of capital necessary.

Since the World War, the tractor, improved harvesting machinery, better livestock, more productive crops and more efficient farm management have made important contributions to progress. It is essential that each farmer engage in the kind of farming which will be most profitable for him. The soil, weather, closeness to market, labor force, and training and skill of the individual farmer are important factors in determining what crops should be grown. General farming is becoming relatively less important and cereal growing, stock raising, fruit growing and other kinds of specialized farming more important. The rotation of crops and use of fertilizers are very important matters.

The relation of the farmer to the farm affects production greatly. Tenant farming has been increasing for decades but since 1920 the increase has been slight. The tenant does not take so much care to conserve the fertility of the

soil as an owner does, so that tenant farming has a tendency by exploiting and neglecting the properties of the soil to impoverish future generations. The tenant, whether he pays money rent or shares in the crop, shows a greater interest in the crop and generally does more efficient work than the hired man.

Labor is one of the biggest factors in production. At harvest time the demand for labor usually exceeds the supply, while in winter work is often scarce. The migratory



Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

Per Cent Distribution of Farms in the United States, by Tenure: 1880–1920.

laborers who begin harvesting in the Southern part of the country and follow the ripening grain northward to the Canadian border create a major social as well as agricultural problem.

A farm labor division of the United States Employment Service is now assisting in securing farm labor. In a single year it has recruited and directed to employment more than four hundred thousand seasonal and general farm hands who assist in caring for crops valued at two billion or more dollars.

The wage of the farm laborers is frequently as low as a dollar a day, except in the harvest season, and this permits only a low plane of living. The employers are frequently unable to pay more as many of the crops generally

bring comparatively little profit even when labor expenses have been small.

The hours of the farmer are extremely long. Many farmers average twelve or more hours a day. The employer frequently rises before daylight and feeds his stock so that they will be ready for work as soon as it is light or the hired men arrive.

Courtesy, Chamber of Commerce of Tacoma, Washington

PICKING BERRIES NEAR THE PACIFIC

How long does it take ripe berries to deteriorate?

Marketing. The farmer markets at a great disadvantage. He is unable to predict the amount of his product or the amount that will be produced by other farmers with whose products his own must come in competition. A small surplus coming on the market will normally greatly depress the price of any product and the farmers generally have not been able to control the amount coming on the market so well as manufacturers. Manufacturers of most articles are in a better position to produce only what they think they can sell at a certain price. Many manufacturers

contract for raw materials, determine wages and interest and sell the goods before beginning to manufacture them so that the risks of manufacturing too much are largely eliminated.

The perishableness of much farm produce is a vital factor. Many fruits, vegetables and dairy products must be consumed quickly. This fact frequently causes a glutting of the market for certain articles and they are sold for a very low price.

The commission merchants or other middlemen are few in number compared to farmers and can agree with one another on the price they will pay much more conveniently than the farmers can agree on the price they will take. Frequently the middlemen take advantage of the unorganized producers and the unorganized consumers with the result that the consumer pays several times as much for a commodity as the farmer receives for it.

Farmers who live close to large cities are able to sell at an advantage, as freight charges are smaller than for those who live at a greater distance, and the perishable goods reach the city in better condition. A large number of milk and cream cans at the station ready for shipment is a familiar sight in dairy districts close to urban centers. An increasing number of producers are using automobile trucks to carry their produce to market. Many farmers are making use of the parcel post to sell directly to the consumers, to the advantage of producers and consumers.

Consumption. It is taken for granted by many people that the farmer who produces food has plenty to eat. The assumption, however, must be qualified. In the first place, a very large number of the people who live on farms are poor. This applies to many owners as well as tenants and day laborers. Studies of rural children have shown an extremely large percentage of undernourished children in the homes of the rural poor. The food of the rural poor

often consists of a few staple articles which do not give the variety required by the body.

Sometimes even the well-to-do farmer has comparatively little variety in diet. Many rural families still use the kind of diet which was suitable when much greater physical exertion was required. Many villagers produce only what is grown in small gardens and have extremely small incomes with which to purchase supplies.

The equipment of millions of rural homes is much superior to the equipment of rural homes a generation or two ago. Many rural homes now have modern heating, lighting, water and sewage systems and enjoy many of the conveniences of urban life. On the other hand, millions of homes of those above the poverty level have few conveniences and lack many of the comforts of modern life. Both standard of living and plane of living vary widely between families.

Coöperation. The need for coöperation among farmers is very great. There are so many of them, the business of each is generally so small, and competition affects them at so many points that they are unable to obtain adequate information or to bargain successfully with middlemen so long as they remain disunited.

Shortly after the Civil War many coöperative societies were connected with the Grange movement, but these lost their importance after a decade of promising activity. Since the beginning of the twentieth century many coöperative organizations for marketing have been organized. At least twelve thousand such organizations are in the United States at present. The Secretary of Agriculture in his *Annual Report* for 1925 said, "The most distinctive and significant movement in American agriculture in this decade is the almost universal trend toward coöperation in the marketing and distribution of farm products. It is in no sense a regional or sectional movement, for it exists

in all sections and is participated in to some extent by producers of practically all kinds of farm products.

"There has been some coöperation by farmers in the United States for many years, but within the last two decades, and particularly during the last decade, the movement has assumed proportions which indicate that it is a response to a fundamental and universal need of present-day American agriculture. It is highly significant from all points of view that the best minds in agriculture, without regard to region or commodity, are unanimous in the opinion that group action in marketing must be added to individual efficiency in production if the high standards of American farm life are to be preserved and agriculture is to maintain its proper place in our national life."

The business transacted by coöperative buying and selling organizations had reached at least $2,500,000,000 by 1926. This represents about a fifth of our total agricultural business. The California Fruit Growers' Exchange, the Florida Citrus Exchange, the New York Dairymen's League, the Maine Potato Growers' Exchange, the Burley Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association and the Oklahoma Cotton Growers' Association are well known coöperative organizations. Within a decade many confederations or other organizations covering large areas have been formed.

The larger associations can standardize their produce, advertise widely, maintain sales agencies in distant cities, keep in touch with market conditions in all parts of the country and send produce to the markets which offer the best price. The association usually succeeds best where there is little variety of product, and standardization is possible. Although most of the coöperative organizations are, unlike the famous Rochdale stores of England, primarily marketing organizations, many of them purchase coal, feed, flour, oil, lumber, brick, fertilizer and other com-

modities for members. Many coöperative associations have been formed to provide various forms of insurance.

The associations have profound significance as creators of a better understanding between producers, and in arousing a community spirit between members of the local associations. One grave danger is that a spirit of hostility and bitterness will be aroused between members and those who refuse to become members.

There are two forms of farmers' coöperative marketing associations: those with capital stock and those without capital stock. In the former, members own shares of stock; in the latter, the members pay a membership fee.

Credit. The problem of securing credit on suitable terms has been an extremely difficult one. Many farmers secure store credit and are permitted to buy goods at the local stores with the understanding that the accounts are to be settled once or twice a year. These obligations are often met when the principal crop is sold. The merchant who gives store credit must charge a price high enough to cover interest and the losses which result from the few farmers who fail to pay the accounts. The purchasers frequently pay an unreasonable amount for this kind of credit without realizing it. Where the merchant has one price for cash payments and charge accounts, the buyers who pay cash get no compensation for doing so.

The farmer frequently needs credit for a few weeks or months while he is harvesting and marketing his crops. There is a heavy demand for credit at this time and those with money to lend often charge high rates of interest. Sometimes the purchaser of land pays a very high rate of interest for the money used to make the purchase. An interest rate of nine or ten per cent on land mortgages is not unknown.

Coöperative credit has developed rapidly in Europe in the last generation where the Raiffeisen and Schulze-

Delitzsch systems have been very important, but comparatively little has been done in this country. The rural population as well as people of other sections have made some use of building and loan associations.

The most important extensions of farm credits in the United States are connected with the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916. This Act established a Federal Farm Loan Board and provided for the establishment of Federal land banks, national farm loan associations, and joint-stock land banks. This system provides loans to farmers at much lower rates of interest than had been current in the more remote districts. It provides loans on land mortgages, the duration of which ranges from five to forty years. The interest rate cannot exceed six per cent. The gradual retirement of the mortgage is provided for, so that it is impossible for those who borrow to sink ever deeper into debt.

By the Agricultural Credits Act of 1923 the Federal Government provided intermediate credit banks and national agricultural credit corporations which provide loans, ranging from six months to three years. These loans are very serviceable in handling crops and livestock, and these commodities are accepted as security. These Federal acts have been of great benefit to the farmer.

Education. Facilities for education in rural districts are increasing rapidly. Better equipment, better trained teachers, and longer school terms are giving the country boy and girl a better opportunity to secure an education. The consolidated schools generally give more efficient instruction than is given in the one-room schools which they are replacing. Rural high schools are increasing rapidly and courses are prepared to train the boy who wishes to remain on the farm for rural life.

The agricultural colleges are training for all types of agricultural work, including various forms of coöperation and marketing. County farm agents, demonstration cars,

exhibits and lecturers are doing much to educate the rural population in the principles of scientific agriculture. The United States Department of Agriculture is gathering and scattering a great deal of information of great value.

The rural free delivery has done much for the education of the rural dwellers. The daily newspaper and many types of periodicals keep them in touch with people outside their community. Better roads and the automobile are

Courtesy, U. S. Department of Agriculture

CANNING CLUB AT WORK

A community spirit is fostered in many rural communities by clubs

increasing their face-to-face contacts, and the radio is bringing daily information of a thousand kinds.

Community life. A community spirit is developing in many localities. Instead of living more exclusively to themselves and seeing their neighbors by accidental meetings, many communities are organizing more community activities. The church and the village store have long been important meeting places, but these are being supplemented in hundreds of communities by many other things.

Important economic, social, educational, recreational

and political activities are now common community undertakings. These activities mean much in the way of imparting information and arousing interest, but they are also very significant in fostering the spirit of coöperation. The direct contacts which take place at community meetings

Courtesy, U. S. Department of Agriculture

A Community Building

Community buildings are a big factor in arousing and keeping active the community spirit in many communities.

are stimulating. Community buildings are increasing and constitute one of the most influential and helpful forces in community life.

Will good roads, the automobile, the radio and the urban newspaper hurt the community spirit by bringing outside contacts?

Farmers' organizations. A number of nation-wide organizations of farmers are very influential in rural life.

The Grange originated shortly after the Civil War and at first was very active in politics. Much of its activity was against railroads and severe laws were passed in some states to control the roads. It was influential in securing a Federal Department of Agriculture and many state agricultural experiment stations. Much effort was directed against the merchants who bought from, and sold to, farmers.

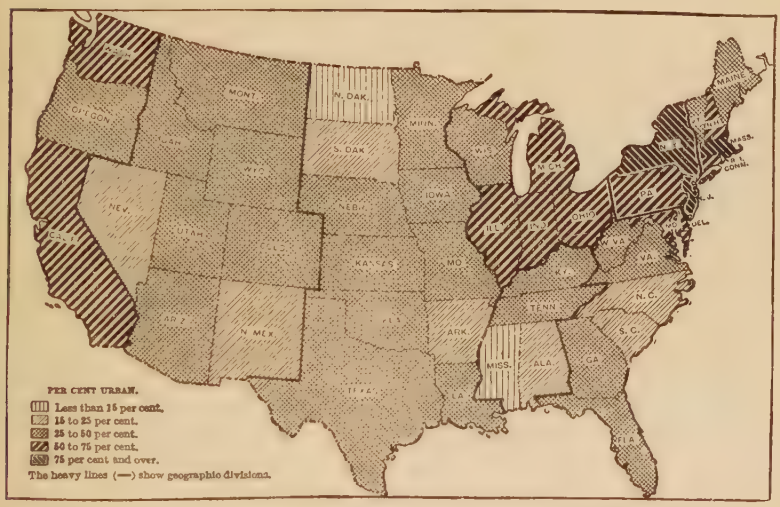
The Grange gives little attention to politics now, but is making important contributions to the social and economic life of the farmer. It has an important place in recreational activities in a large number of communities. The Grange fair is an important annual event in many communities. The Grange is doing a good deal to improve the quality of livestock, fowls, grains, fruits and vegetables, and is doing something to improve methods of agriculture.

The Farmers' Union, which is very strong in the South, the Farm Bureau Federation, the Farmers' Institutes and other organizations are carrying on activities somewhat similar to those of the Grange. The Farmers' Alliance was very active in politics. It is now a part of the National Farmers' Congress. Attention has been called to the very influential coöperative organizations.

Rural vs. city life. During the last generation there has been a great exodus from the rural districts to the cities. The movement is important in all industrial countries and has progressed more rapidly in Europe than in the United States. Even Asia and Africa have been affected by it.

The reasons for this cityward movement are numerous: Many families migrate that the children may have better educational advantages. It is impossible to increase the amount of land in each community, so the children must either migrate or be content with only a part of the family homestead. Millions migrate because better economic opportunities await them in the city.

Many agricultural laborers are unable to secure work because of labor-saving machinery, and find their way to urban centers. The great industrial expansion of the cities requires an increasingly large labor force and readily absorbs much of the rural population when conditions are normal. The decline of small rural manufacturing establishments has gone on rapidly as the large urban manufac-



Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

PER CENT URBAN IN TOTAL POPULATION: 1920

Discuss the causes of this distribution of population.

turing plants have grown and this has made available many people for the cities.

How does the quality of the people who move to the city compare with the quality of those who remain at home?

The back-to-the-farm movement is now being widely discussed, and considerable progress has been made in realizing the hopes of those who favor such a movement. The automobile is doing something toward sending people to the rural districts or causing them to remain there, but

its effect is felt most strongly in the suburbs of cities. Many of those who live in the rural sections have their principal business interests in the city so that they are really a dual type—rural by night and urban by day.

The conveniences of the modern home as well as the improved facilities for communication and education are influencing many to choose the rural life. Much of the

Courtesy, U. S. Department of Agriculture

HARVESTING AND THRESHING SCENE, UTAH

The heads pass into the thresher as they are clipped from the standing grain. How many men do you think it would take to harvest and thresh with sickle and flail as much as this combined harvester and thresher?

heavier, more disagreeable work for both men and women is being done by labor-saving devices. The opportunities for leadership are generally fewer in rural than in urban districts.

It is impossible to strike a balance as to the relative desirability of rural and urban life. Much depends on the nature of the individual; some people who are now contented and happy in the city could never be happy or efficient in the country, and vice versa.

The sense of ownership is worth a great deal to the

farmers who own even small plots. The farmers who own their farms and the tenant farmers who work for themselves are freed from the annoyance of supervision and control. These and other psychic incomes make up in large measure for the small money income and long hours of the average farmer.

The educational advantages of the city child are still far ahead of those of the country child. The army draft examinations showed the physical condition of the men from the country somewhat below that of the men from the cities, and this has caused a deeper appreciation of the facilities for health in the cities.

Economically, the producer rather than the consumer gains by going to the city as the cost of living there is much higher than in most rural districts. It is probably true, as generally believed, that the moral conditions are worse in the cities than in the rural districts, but we must remember that it is hard to segregate the children of a village and one or two viciously inclined ones have a good opportunity to corrupt the children of the entire village community.

Great progress is being made in dealing with most of the important rural problems. The effort to solve these problems is calling forth much latent ability and developing many fine qualities.

Questions on the Text

1. Discuss the personnel of rural communities.
2. What important forces affect production?
3. What are some new means of marketing?
4. Discuss the farmer's diet.
5. Trace the growth of the coöperative movement.
6. Why does the farmer need credit? What has the Federal Government done to provide it?
7. What educational progress is being made in rural communities?

8. What community activities are common?

9. Why are the cities growing more rapidly than the country communities?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What type of agriculture is most common in your county? Do most of the farmers own the farms they cultivate? What wages do the laborers receive?

2. Trace some articles of your food from producer to consumer.

3. Do the residents of rural districts use a wiser division of expenditures than residents of cities?

4. Report on the history and work of one coöperative society.

5. What should American farmers learn from the credit associations of Europe?

6. In what respect, if any, should rural education differ from that of urban communities?

7. What changes are taking place in the rural life of your community?

8. Should a much larger number of city boys and girls spend their summer vacations in the country? Should you?

9. Report on the activity of one nation-wide farmers' organization.

10. What is the Federal Government doing to aid agriculture? Your State Government?

11. *Resolved:* That rural life is more desirable than city life.

12. *Resolved:* That American farmers a century ago were as happy as American farmers are at present.

13. *Resolved:* That the Federal Government should guarantee a minimum price for some farm products.

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CHAPTER XXXIX

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORM

THE PROBLEM: We have made great economic and social progress. Can we make such progress faster? In this chapter we consider some plans which have been advocated for improving conditions. Do you think any of these would bring more progress? Would they cause us to lose some of the progress already made?

The present economic and social order. Rights of person and property rights are fundamental in the present economic and social order. In general, the adult is free to live his life as he wishes and to own and use property in any manner he desires so long as his life or property does not become a menace to another. Those rights as they exist today are the result of untold generations of change, adjustment and development, and are strengthened by countless customs.

Sometimes there is a conflict between the things we regard as rights of person and the things we regard as property rights. The state, family and other groups have certain rights which vitally affect the rights of the individual. The conception of the rights of the state, family and other social groups varies widely in different countries and in the same country at different times. The present economic and social order has resulted from the play of economic, social and political forces in the working out of the rights—real and imaginary—of the social units.

Economic and social discontent. Economic and social discontent is very old. We find it in China giving rise to much of the strife that existed at the time Confucius was urging his people to observe the Golden Rule. It was strong in India where Buddha longed to escape from the

strife of the present order to the quiet Nirvana while millions of his fellow countrymen were held down by the caste system. In Syria and Egypt the slaves groaned under the lash of the taskmasters. In Palestine the Hebrew prophets thundered out their denunciation of those who were oppressing the poor. In Greece, Solon came to the rescue of the oppressed with his reforms and Plato dreamed of his ideal state. Discontent was great in Rome in the days when the Gracchi lost their lives in the fight for agrarian reform. In Carthage and most other places of which we have record there were those who cried for a change or withheld the cry because they knew that to find fault with the existing order would make a bad matter worse.

In more recent times we have More in England dreaming of but never hoping to see his Utopia, Campanella in Italy wishing for the City of the Sun, modern writers like Bellamy, or William Morris, and a vast number of toilers who are unable to write, wishing that it were possible to change the economic and social order into something that they would like better.

Inequality of income is one great cause of discontent. The multimillionaire with greater wealth than kings possess is contrasted with the worthy pauper who cannot earn enough to maintain his family. That which is thrown away in one family is sometimes more than all that another family possesses. Sometimes the idle rich are contrasted with the person who toils ten or twelve hours a day.

Some of the discontented point to the wastes of competition and the ill-feeling caused by it and ask for a change in the interest of economy and social harmony. Some think the present order begets selfishness and narrows one's vision. Many complain that they have no opportunity to acquire culture, that they must drive themselves to disagreeable tasks with no opportunity to do the things they would enjoy. Some who have failed to make good under

the present system want a change simply because they think that under a different system they could do better.

Socialism defined. The term "socialism" is less than a century old and has been used by writers to cover a variety of related doctrines or practices having to do with changes in the social order. Sometimes the term is used to describe control by the group, or greater coöperation within the group. The protective measures and compulsory insurance of Bismarck are often spoken of as state socialism. The workingmen's associations for coöperative production advocated by Maurice, Kingsley and others about the middle of the last century, much of the land reform agitation about 1880, and the present attempt to apply Christian principles to social relations are spoken of as Christian socialism.

Socialism, however, now usually refers to a more fundamental change in the social structure, and includes as its central doctrine the ownership and control by the state or the public of the land and capital used in production.

Marxian or revolutionary socialism. By far the most influential socialist is Karl Marx (1818–1883) whose *Das Kapital* has been so highly regarded by socialists of all lands as to be called the Bible of socialism. A resident of France and Germany during the stormy times which attended the political revolutions of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and finally an exile from Germany, he, like so many of his associates, was profoundly influenced by the events which attended the revolutions, and took up the work which had been begun by revolutionary socialists a short time before.

The revolutionary socialist felt it absolutely necessary to get control of the government and had little faith in the program of the Utopians. To Marx and to thousands of his associates and followers socialism seemed a kind of religion for which one ought to suffer, as well as a program to which one might give intellectual approval.

The following three points cover the most important elements of Marxian socialism.

First, the economic interpretation of history. Economic forces shape the course of history. The method of production controls the social organization and the history of mankind.

Second, the theories of value, surplus value and exploitation. A thing has value only because human labor has been put into it. Labor creates all value. The laborer creates more than is necessary for him to live. The capitalist gives the laborer only wages enough to provide a meagre living and pockets the rest of the value created by the laborer so that the capitalist by exploitation keeps labor at the subsistence level.

Third, increasing differentiation, class struggle and impending revolution. The system of capitalist production tends inevitably toward greater and greater concentration of wealth in fewer hands. More and more people are driven into the proletarian class. The oppression and misery of that class becomes greater and greater. The struggle between classes becomes more and more bitter until the proletarians revolt, get control of the government, appropriate the wealth of the capitalists and have collective ownership and control.

The Marxists have been helpful in calling special attention to the tremendous power of economic forces in social evolution, and have profoundly influenced the teaching of history. They are in error in neglecting the powerful part played by other forces such as knowledge, patriotism and religion.

They are wrong in their theory of value, for capital, land and the enterpriser have a part in the creation of value. There is competition at work to limit the amount of exploitation that is possible. While the rich have been getting richer, the oppression and misery of the working classes

have been getting less and less. The working classes are now much better off financially than they were when Marx wrote. While group struggles are sometimes very bitter, there is no indication that we are moving toward the kind of revolution that the Marxists expect.

Evolutionary socialism. The revolutionary type of socialism had been giving place to evolutionary socialism for many years before the World War. The evolutionary socialists believe that the steps toward socialism will be ushered in gradually and that by a step here and one there, now a little more government ownership, now a little more social insurance, now a little more of something else, society will become socialistic. The evolutionary socialists are less class-conscious than the revolutionary. Many of them stress education as an important means of bringing the socialist state into being.

A very influential group of evolutionary socialists is the Fabian Society of England. Although the membership of the Fabian Society is small it has numbered among its members some very influential men, including H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw and Ramsay MacDonald. Its influence has been felt in the political life of England, and in the intellectual life of England and other countries.

Guild socialism. Guild socialism is an interesting movement that made considerable progress in England in the building trades after the World War but has lost much of its influence. The guild socialists wish to do away with the capitalist system with its interest, rent and profits and have state or guild ownership of the instruments of production.

They think a national guild, composed of labor unions made up of all grades of workers in an industry such as coal mining, democratically organized, should control each industry. A national council, or industrial parliament, representing all the guilds, would adjust matters between them. The national government would be much weaker

than at present, and representation in Parliament might be by function rather than geographical division.

Even if the self-governing guilds could produce economically, they would probably be greatly weakened, if not destroyed entirely, by conflicting interests. The guilds would be competing with one another in dividing the rewards of production. It would be difficult for the guild and the state to agree on matters in which there must be coöperation for the good of the community, such as public health. Would the consumer be left to the mercy of the national combination of producers?

Socialists in politics. Many socialists realize the value of the ballot. The evolutionary socialists especially seek to use it in their struggle for more desirable conditions.

The political strength of the socialists has been very strong in Germany where the Social Democratic Party polled more than four million votes in 1912 and sent over one hundred delegates to the Reichstag, and after the World War secured control of the government. In France the Socialists have about one fifth of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and the socialists, Briand and Herriot, have been premiers. In England the socialists are not numerous, but MacDonald, a former member of the Fabian Society, became Prime Minister, as Labor Leader. There are many Russians who prefer socialism to communism. The socialist parties of Austria, Italy, Czechoslovakia and other countries of Europe have a considerable following.

The socialists of the United States were almost wholly of foreign birth until the close of the nineteenth century, but since that date more native Americans have accepted socialism. Although the Socialist party once polled almost one million votes for the Presidency, its vote is usually very small. It has about five thousand members at present. It has elected a few members to Congress and to several state legislatures. It has agitated many reforms.

Strength and weakness of socialism. Where does socialism get its strength? In part it is simply a protest against existing evils. An individual is not satisfied with his condition, or sees about him much that is wrong—much misery, many evils in the economic, social and political life of society. When the socialist offers socialism as a cure-all for these ills the individual may accept it without critical consideration.

Socialism gets much of its strength because it has been in large measure a class movement. The socialist workman appeals to his fellow workmen to unite with him against the exploiting capitalists, and some of the strength of socialism is due to class hatred.

Specific arguments for socialism appeal strongly to some people. Some of these arguments are: It would do away with such wastes of competition as duplication of factories, advertising, partial use of machinery, and over-production of a given product. Social welfare and not profit would be the aim of production. People would work for work's sake and to win the esteem of society. There would be less inequality of wealth. The weak would be protected, nourished, and relieved of anxiety. Class conflicts would be lessened and a nearer approach made to the inclusive brotherhood of man. The idle would be forced to work.

Some of the weaknesses of socialism which its opponents call attention to are the following: People would not work effectively if the prospect of private gain were removed, or seriously diminished. It would be impossible to get the proper leadership if there were no profits to tempt persons of ability to become enterprisers. There would be so many things for the government to do and so many millions of state employees that it would be impossible for the system to function economically. It would be impossible to get a satisfactory method of remuneration, for remuneration according to need, sacrifice involved, service rendered or

any other method suggested by the socialists would prove unsatisfactory. The instruments of production would not be given proper care if they belonged to the state. The system would be too inelastic to permit experimentation, to encourage invention or to induce progress. The incentive to save would be weakened. It would be a menace to the liberty of the individual, cramp individuality, and weaken personality.

Socialism has been much weaker than the number of its adherents would indicate because of the divisions among socialists. They differ so widely that it is usually impossible to unite several groups for sustained effort. Many socialists seem to feel as hostile toward socialists of another group as they feel toward the opponents of socialism.

Communism. In communism the community owns all the wealth. Private property being abolished, each individual works for the community and in return receives from it food, clothing, shelter and anything else it is prepared to distribute. It brings community control more tightly about the individual than socialism for it not only dictates the amount of the compensation he receives; it also dictates in the matter of the form of the compensation and in large measure as to its use.

The examples of communism on a small scale have been numerous. The life of many primitive peoples have important communist features. A communistic experiment was tried on the Isle of Crete in the thirteenth century B.C., but did not last. The life of the ruling class of Sparta at the time of Lycurgus was largely communistic. Some of the early Christian sects as well as the monasteries of the Middle Ages were partially communistic. The communistic societies of the nineteenth century, however, were much more important.

The people known as the Utopian socialists led by Saint Simon (1760–1825) and Fourier (1772–1837) in France,

and Owen (1771–1858) in England were partly communists. They were in large part the product of the Industrial Revolution in England with its attendant undesirable labor condition and of the revolutionary French philosophy.

Many of the Utopians believed that in the state of nature man was much better off than in the complex and misgoverned civilization of the times. They praised the condition of primitive man with his communistic life. They had almost a boundless faith in the possibilities of human nature, and some thought that man was by nature so good that, if left to himself, he would do the right thing.

They tried to get rid of the evils existing under the factory system and inequalities of wealth by fraternal organizations, and many communistic societies were started, mostly in America. Some of the communities founded by the Utopians were: The one founded by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana (1825); the thirty or more founded by Fourier and his followers at Brook Farm, Massachusetts (1841), and other places; the ones founded by Cabet or his followers, the most important being at Icaria, Iowa.

Although the Utopian societies have perished, they have influenced various groups of socialists and less radical social reformers such as the members of the coöperative movement in England and those who wish more state legislation in the various countries. The Utopians knew little of history, of the evolutionary character of society or of human nature, and thought it might be possible to change society almost overnight.

Most of the attempts to establish communistic societies in America failed quickly, and at present there is very little communism in America outside the family. We find no foreign experiments more promising. Many of these experiments were composed of earnest, desirable people of American and of European stock. Their failure makes it doubtful if communism will ever succeed. Most people are

not altruistic enough to work for the community as well as they do for themselves. The restrictions in the communist society do not appeal to most of us in reality, even if the makers of Utopias often include communism as a part of their dreams, and the Communist party of America and the United Communist party would like to do for the United States what the Bolsheviki tried to do for Russia.

Many of the communist communities were of a religious nature. The Shakers who began their work in the United States about the time of the Revolution and founded a score of communities in the North Atlantic states and the states of the Middle West were very religious. The Harmonists, founded by George Rapp, 1805, in Pennsylvania, and the Perfectionists, whose most important community was founded at Oneida, New York, in 1848, were also religious.

Bolshevism. In 1917 the Bolsheviki, led by Lenin, came into control of the Russian government when the more conservative leaders who gained control after the Czar was overthrown were unable to keep the reins of power. They thrust aside the more conservative socialists, confiscated dwellings, land and the other instruments of production, and assumed direction of production, distribution and exchange.

The Bolsheviki believed in the dictatorship of the proletariat until such time as all persons should come to accept the Bolshevist view. They ruthlessly set about destroying opposition, although they were in the minority. They disfranchised the bourgeoisie and established an all-Russian Congress composed of representatives of the Soviets—councils of workers and peasants. The bourgeoisie were driven from their position as the directive force of industry and hundreds of thousands of them were killed. An attempt at uniform compensation was made.

Production was so inefficient under government ownership and control in the factories and on the agricultural land, the mechanism of exchange and the financial conditions were so unsatisfactory, and there was so much suffering on account of poverty that the government was forced to call on the bourgeoisie to help, and to pay higher salaries

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

AT THE GRAVE OF LENIN, MOSCOW

On the anniversary of the death of Lenin thousands of Bolsheviki from many parts of Russia visit his grave to pay homage to his memory.

to those in responsible positions than to others. Conditions were so bad that by 1921 the government began to reëstablish private property in the instruments of production. Lenin announced that it was necessary to return to the hated capitalist regime because the people of Russia were not prepared for the communist program. The banishment of Trotzky and other radical leaders in 1928 was an important step in the direction of a more conservative policy.

Three of the things which seemed to play a big part in the failure of the Russian experiment were lack of discipline, failure to get the services of those who were able to direct, and lack of the incentive which private property gives.

Syndicalism and the I.W.W. Syndicalism is strictly a working class movement. The syndicalists take care that members of other classes are not admitted. It aims at the ownership and control of land and other instruments of production by the working class.

To secure this end direct action is necessary. Reform by parliamentary government is too slow and uncertain an affair for the syndicalist. He prefers *sabotage,* that is, slowing down or stopping production by throwing substances like sand or nails into a machine, cutting belts or making trouble for the employer by some other underhanded means. They also look with favor on the general strike. They believe that when labor lays down its tools and the public as well as the employer is made to suffer, the government will cease to function and the syndicalists—labor unions with the syndicalist purpose—will take over and run the government, and run it in the interest of the working class.

The syndicalist movement has been very strong in France where the organized movement dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The union of the syndicalists numbered a million and a half members before the World War. It also has considerable strength in Italy, but is weak in other countries.

American syndicalism is represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, generally spoken of as the I.W.W. This organization came into being in 1905 when two hundred delegates representing members of many occupations held a convention in Chicago, and organized. The Western Federation of Miners was the strongest organization

which affiliated with the I.W.W. at its organization, but withdrew after two years.

The history of the I.W.W. has been marked by many unsuccessful strikes, and much internal dissension. In 1908 the organization split into two groups, the Chicago I.W.W. and the Detroit I.W.W. Its most important achievement was the handling of the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912.

During the World War many of the members were charged with attempting to obstruct its prosecution, and just after the close of the war many were charged with being undesirable radicals and some of them were deported by the Government. It has a shifting membership but never numbers more than a few thousand.

There is little to commend in syndicalism. It is largely lawless in method. It awakens and fans class hatred by appealing directly to class prejudice.

Anarchism. Anarchism is that state of society in which there is no government. Some anarchists believe that man is so good by nature that he can get along well without government. Others would admit that the condition of man without government might be bad, but believe his condition under government is far worse. Anarchists stress the liberty, freedom and individuality one would enjoy under anarchism.

There are two types of anarchists. The individualist type believe that the individual, once free, should remain free from associations. The anarchist-communists believe that once the government is destroyed, people in each community should unite in coöperative, voluntary groups, which would not coerce the members as the state does. The anarchism of America has been more of the individualistic type, while that of Europe has been more of the anarchist-communistic type.

Anarchists differ in their method of doing away with

government. Some feel that the people of the various countries should be persuaded to abolish government while others feel that force should be used to destroy it. Although the number of anarchists is small, the ones who believe in using force are extremely dangerous as they occasionally strike at the leaders in political life as happened time and again when the Nihilists of Russia were trying to destroy the government of the Czar.

It would appear that anarchism is the worst of the schemes suggested for social reconstruction. If there were no government to punish those who wish to prey upon their fellows it would seem that such acts as theft and murder would be far more common than at present. If there were no state to punish the aggressor, the aggrieved person would be forced to punish the guilty, and no doubt each community would have its feuds such as exist today in communities which do not enforce the law.

How could large transportation lines be built up if there were no government to protect the roads? How could the capital necessary for manufacturing be found unless some government existed to guarantee that he who plants shall get the fruit of his labor?

Under anarchism much—perhaps all—the helpful service now rendered by our state and National governments would disappear. Who would be so foolhardy as to venture into a foreign land if there were no government there to protect him, and none at home to demand that he be protected?

The single-tax. The modern single-tax idea was advocated by Henry George in *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1879. The advocates of the single-tax claim that the state should appropriate the economic rent of land and that this would be sufficient to meet all expenses. The state would appropriate only the value possessed by the land itself and would not appropriate buildings and other improvements.

Single-tax advocates claim that land is a gift of nature, which the owner has not created, so should belong to the public, as air does. They say that most of the increase in value of a piece of land is caused by people who build up a community close to the land, so that the public rather than the owner deserves the increase in value. They assert that one might appropriate the value of the land without compensation and without injustice to the landlord.

George believed that the speculative advance in land values cut down the earnings of labor and capital, decreased production, and was the principal cause of idleness of both land and labor, and of industrial depressions. He believed that the increased productive power of society causes rents to rise and forces the poor deeper and deeper in poverty. He thought the single-tax would tend toward equality of wealth, and society would be far along on the road to Utopia with poverty a thing of the past.

One of the foremost objections to the single-tax is its injustice. Even though land is a free gift of nature it was not free to those who now possess it so that to take from the landowner the value of his land would be the same as to take from him the amount paid for it.

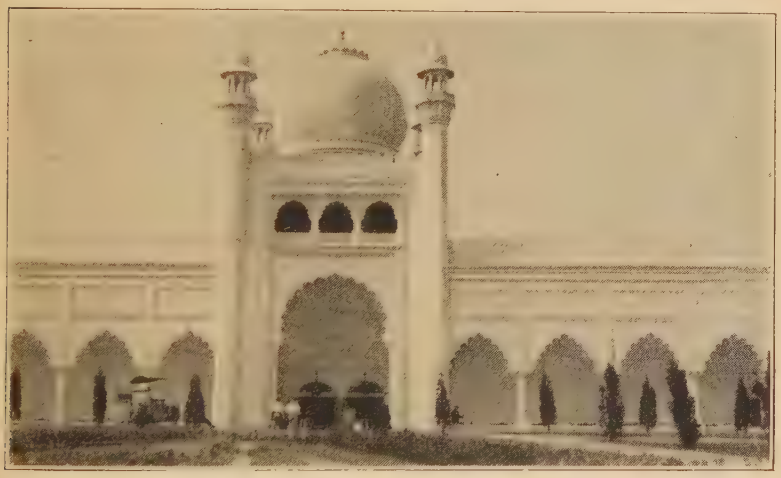
Another serious objection is the difficulty of determining the economic rent. What part of the income from a farm or city lot is due to the nature and position of the land and what part to buildings and other improvements made on it?

The inelasticity of the tax would be great. If the government needed more or less revenue how could it vary the rent?

Private ownership has been very instrumental in causing users to take care of property, and land would doubtless suffer tremendously if the value of it were taken by the government. It is doubtful if there would be any less pov-

erty under the single-tax system for the poor would be just as poor if the rent went to the state as they are where the rent goes to the landlord.

Complicated problem and many-sided attack. The problem of economic and social reform is extremely varied and complicated. We cannot expect to make much sustained progress in the solution of it until we appreciate its many-



India Building at the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition, 1926

Injustice—political, social, or economic—stirs thoughtful right-minded persons to action. If conditions are to be permanently improved, the action must be guided by wisdom. The new, to be successful, must be built on that which was substantial in the old. So it was in 1776, and so it is today.

sidedness. Modern civilization is so complex, the social forces so many, and frequently so subtle, that it is extremely difficult to understand society well enough to suggest really helpful reforms. Economic and social reform is closely related to other problems discussed in this book and they vitally affect each other.

There is no cure-all, although many reformers have spent much time and energy trying to find such a solution. There are, however, some lines of attack that promise prog-

ress if we follow them earnestly, persistently, and wisely.

We must attack many points at the same time. Our social ideals and purposes must be definite and clear-cut. We cannot afford to ignore the heredity of the individual or his training. The organization of our industrial forces and the development of our social life deserve attention. The problems of consumption are as important as the problems of production.

We must locate the individual things which are undesirable and attack each one with the method that is best suited to destroy it. For instance: the abundance of unskilled labor is one reason why the wages of such labor is low. We could secure higher wages for the unskilled by decreasing their numbers or increasing the other factors of production that use unskilled labor so that the demand for it would increase.

It is frequently said that some person or group has too much power. Power must be concentrated if we are going to get things done orderly and efficiently. Our most helpful line of attack is to see that those who have power do not misuse it.

Something can be done by legislation and a very great deal can be done by developing many more people who are not disposed to abuse their power. Much can be achieved by developing a public opinion that will approve more strongly than at present the things that are right and condemn more severely the things which are wrong. If public opinion thinks the things that are right and demands that those with power use it rightly, many of the worst abuses of modern life will disappear without a radical reorganization of society.

Questions on the Text

1. What characteristics of the present economic and social order are mentioned?

2. What are some causes of discontent?

3. Define socialism.

4. What are the principal doctrines of Marxian socialism? Criticize each doctrine.

5. Compare revolutionary and evolutionary socialism. Cite a group of evolutionary socialists.

6. Criticize guild socialism.

7. Compare the political activity of socialists in the United States with the political activity of socialists in Europe.

8. What are the strong and weak points of socialism?

9. Why have communistic societies failed so often?

10. What do the Bolsheviki believe?

11. Criticize the aims and methods of the I.W.W.

12. Compare syndicalism and anarchism.

13. What claims are made for the single-tax? Which, if any, of the claims would be borne out if it were adopted generally in the United States?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. List in parallel columns the rights of person guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and your State Constitution. Do the same for property rights.

2. Supplement the causes of discontent listed in this chapter. Do you think most of the causes can be removed?

3. Outline the history of revolutionary socialism. Give an account of the life of Marx.

4. Give an account of the work and influence of a group of Christian, state or evolutionary socialists.

5. Has revolutionary or evolutionary socialism the better chance to succeed?

6. Trace the history of guild socialism in England.

7. What reforms have been advocated by one or both of our major political parties after they were advocated by the Socialist party? Report on the present political activity of the Socialist party.

8. Give an account of a communist community.

9. Criticize the Bolsheviki.

10. Account for the strength of the syndicalist movement in France.

11. Was the treatment given the I.W.W. by the public and the Government after the World War justifiable? Constitutional? How do the members of most labor organizations feel toward the I.W.W.?

12. What are the causes of anarchism? How can we reduce them?

13. Why does the single-tax attract less attention now than it did two generations ago?

14. Prepare a program that you think would bring important economic and social reforms.

15. *Resolved:* That the United States should become a socialist state.

16. *Resolved:* That a majority of the Russian people are happier now than they were under the Czar.

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CHAPTER XL

PUBLIC FINANCE

THE PROBLEM: Public finance—the study of government expenditures and revenues—must be considered in the light of all our economic, social, political and selected problems. Only when we know the nature of these problems and the needs connected with them, and something of the measures necessary for their solution, are we in a position to decide the amount and nature of the expenditures which should be made. How much should each unit of government spend? For what purposes should it spend? How should it get its revenue?

The increasing cost of government. In 1791 the entire expenditure of the Federal Government was only $4,269,027. Considerably more than half of this was interest on the public debt. In no year before the Civil War was the expenditure as high as seventy-five million dollars. There was little increase in expenditure between the close of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, but after the latter the amount of expenditure rose steadily and in 1916 was $741,996,727.

In 1919 we spent the immense sum of $18,952,141,180, most of which was for the prosecution of the war or loans to the Allies. Since the readjustments immediately following the war our annual expenditure has been about $3,500,000,000, which is five times as much as we spent just before the war, and represents a per capita expense of about $30.

We should take into consideration the growth of the country in discussing the increase of expenditures. Between 1850 and 1912 the Federal expenditures increased seventeenfold, the national income sixteenfold, the national wealth twenty-five fold and the population fourfold. We must also keep in mind the general changes in prices since they indicate the relative value of money. Our national

income at present is estimated at more than sixty billion dollars a year and our national wealth at three hundred and twenty billions.

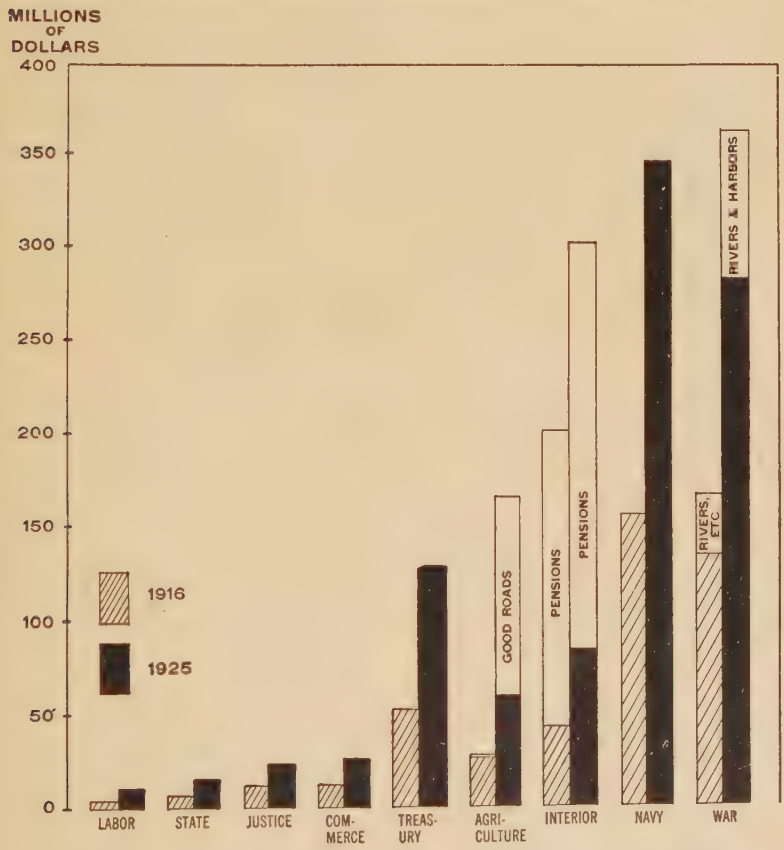
The costs of the state and local governments have also increased rapidly. In 1860 the sum of the per capita levies of general property taxes was $3.00. In 1922 it was $32.23. In 1860 the average tax rate per $100 of assessed valuation was $0.78. In 1922 it was $2.81. Between 1912 and 1922 the revenue from the state taxes increased 183 per cent, from county taxes 142 per cent, and from incorporated places of more than 2,500 population 80 per cent. In 1922 the revenues of the state and local units from taxation was $38.82 per capita.

The combined revenue from Federal, state and local goverment taxes in 1922 was about $68.30 for each person or $350 for each family. The per capita net revenue in 1926 of the 146 cities with a population of over 30,000 was $66.14. The net per capita debt of these cities was $128.13 in that year. President Coolidge in his message to Congress in December, 1924, said our governments were costing us about $100 per capita and added these significant words: "It is an ominous fact that only the National Government is reducing its debt. Others are increasing theirs at about $1,000,000,000 each year." About twelve or thirteen cents of every dollar of our national income goes for taxes.

Division of expenditures. What proportion of our expenditures is each unit of government making? A recent survey showed our annual per capita revenues from taxation to be $29.47 for the Federal Government, $8.01 for the state governments, $7.67 for the counties and $24.57 for incorporated places. The states received 20.6 per cent of all state and local taxes, the counties 17.7 per cent, the incorporated places 38.5 per cent, and other civil divisions 23.2 per cent.

For what is each political unit spending its money? The

Federal Government spends about eighty cents of every dollar in meeting obligations of past wars or preparing for future wars. The United States has been especially liberal in its provisions for pensions. The amount spent for economic betterment and cultural advancement is very small compared to our war obligations. The expenditures for the various Federal Government departments for 1916 and 1925 are shown in the diagram which follows.

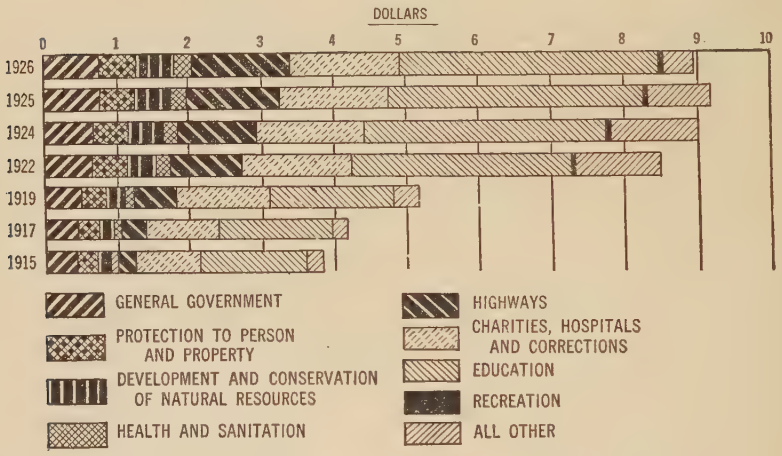


Courtesy, Treasury Department

EXPENSES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Expenditures for the various departments of the Federal Government for the fiscal year 1925 compared with 1916.

The state governments spend considerably more for education than for any other purpose. Their next largest expense is for charities, hospitals and corrections. Highways, general government, protection to person and property, and the development and conservation of natural resources take large sums. The diagram following shows the per capita payments by the state for operation and maintenance of general departments for specified years.



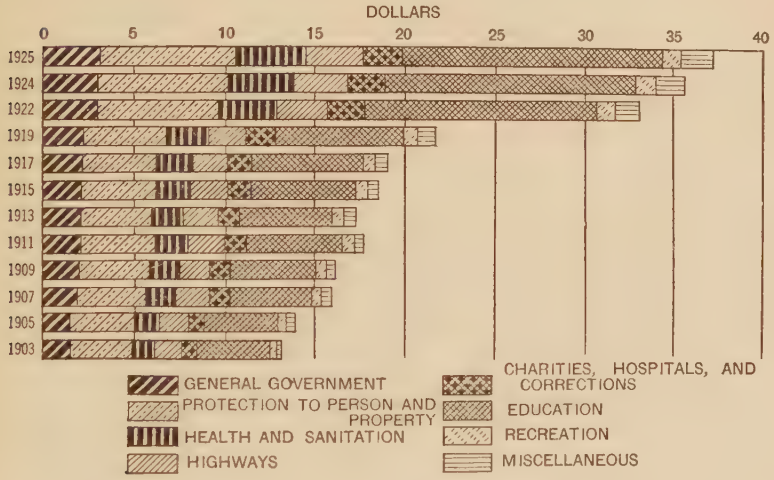
Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

EXPENSES OF STATES

Per capita payments for operation and maintenance of general departments of the forty-eight states for specified years: 1915–1926. The total per capita payments for operation and maintenance other than those for public service enterprises increased from $3.85 in 1915 to $8.98 in 1926, or 133.2 per cent.

The cities, too, spend more for education than for any other purpose. Protection of life and property is also a very heavy expense. The diagram on this page shows the per capita net payments for principal general departmental expenses of cities of over 30,000 for specified years. Do you think we are getting sufficient service from the various items of expense?

The budget. Our appropriations have frequently been haphazard. Large sums have been voted for various items without a very definite idea of the total amount involved



Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

EXPENSES IN LARGE CITIES

Per capita net payments for principal departmental expenses of all cities over 30,000 inhabitants for specified years: 1903–1925.

or the sources of revenue to meet the expenditures. There was so much extravagance and unwise expenditures that the budget, which provides a unified statement of proposed expenditures and proposed revenues, has been adopted in all large cities and many small ones, in all the states and in the Federal Government.

Sometimes there is a lump-sum budget and each department is given a sum which the head of the department may apportion as he sees fit, but the segregated budget, which specifies what each item shall be used for, is common. The preparation of the budget was once looked upon as a legislative function and is still so regarded in English cities, but the movement in America is toward placing the responsi-

bility on the executive: mayor, city manager, governor or President.

The abuse of the spending power was greatest in our great cities and the budget reform first made its appearance there. Frequently the member of each ward had one object in view—to get as much money spent in his ward as possible—and there was much trading between members, similar to "log-rolling" in Congress.

In the mayor-council type of city the budget is most frequently prepared by the mayor, but in some cities it is prepared by a special board of which the mayor is often a member, and in other cities it is prepared by a committee of the council. The budget is always submitted to the council, but the council's power to amend it varies from city to city.

In the commission-governed city the budget for each department is usually prepared by the commissioner who is in charge of that department and approved or amended by the commission acting as a unit. In the cities with a city-manager he prepares the budget which can be amended freely by the commission or council.

Wisconsin in 1911 was the first state to introduce the budget. The governor prepares it in more than half the states. A board prepares it in more than a third of the states. This board is sometimes composed entirely of executive officers, sometimes of executive officers and some members of the legislature, or private citizens. In Arkansas it is prepared by a committee of the legislature. The power of the legislature to amend varies widely between states.

The Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives for many years prepared an estimate of expenditures and revenues for the Federal Government, but after the Civil War appropriation bills were prepared by a newly-created Committee on Appropriations. Before the end of the century many committees prepared appro-

priation bills. After much criticism of the old system by President Taft's Economy and Efficiency Committee and many individuals in public and private life, Congress passed the Budget Act in 1921.

This law created a Bureau of the Budget in the Department of the Treasury under the direction of a Director appointed by the President for an indefinite term. The

Courtesy, Treasury Department

THE TREASURY BUILDING

Styles and the facilities for transportation change, but the Treasury remains.

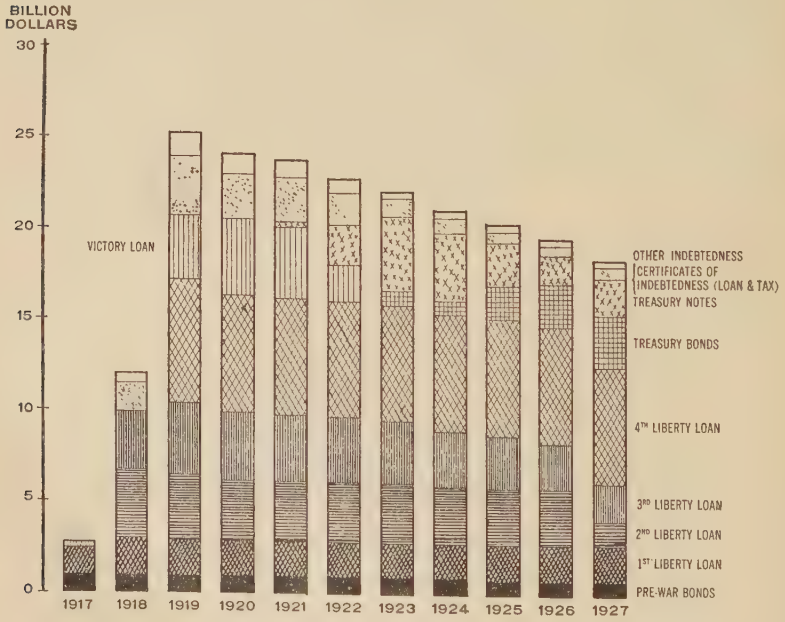
Director secures from the heads of the departments and other executive agencies an estimate of the needs of their departments, or agencies. He unifies and, when necessary, amends these at the direction of the President, and lays the budget before Congress. Congress is free to amend or ignore it. This system enables the President to exercise much influence on Congress by focusing the attention of the country on the items of the budget.

The Budget Act created a General Accountancy Office under the direction of a Comptroller-general of the United States appointed by the President for a term of fifteen

years. The Comptroller-general, who is independent of the departments, audits the books of the Government, prescribes the methods of keeping accounts and reports the results of his work to the President and Congress.

Extraordinary expenses and loans. War is the chief cause of the extraordinary expenses of the Federal Government, although the construction of railroads and the Panama Canal have resulted in great expenditures. In time of war the first question is the success of the war and money is spent lavishly. Taxes are raised and many new sources of taxes resorted to, but necessarily the largest sums are borrowed.

In the two and a half years of the World War the Federal Government raised by taxation the enormous sum of



Courtesy, Treasury Department

NATIONAL DEBT

Interest bearing debt of the Federal Government outstanding at the end of each fiscal year from 1917 to 1927 by type of issue.

$11,280,000,000. The four liberty loans and the victory loan brought in about $21,500,000,000, and the entire war cost us about $35,500,000,000. The interest rate on several of the Panama Canal loans was as low as 2 per cent, but the loans during the World War averaged about 4¼ per cent. The enormous debts of a great war must be borne in part by future generations.

We loaned tremendous sums to the Allies during the war and have loaned to various countries since. Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Poland, Finland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Latvia, Hungary, Lithuania and Jugoslavia have made agreements for refunding their debts, although the home government of France has not ratified the agreement made by her representatives. The payment of these debts is extended over a period of approximately sixty-two years and the interest for most of the countries is considerably lower than that paid by the Government of the United States to its citizens under the terms of the various loans. The table following shows the amount owed us on May 4, 1926, by the nations which have arranged for refunding their debts, and the interest we are to receive.

Country	Principal	Interest	Total
Belgium	$ 417,780,000.00	$ 310,050,500.00	$ 727,830,500.00
Czechoslovakia	115,000,000.00	197,811,433.88	312,811,433.88
Esthonia	13,830,000.00	19,501,140.00	33,331,140.00
Finland	9,000,000.00	12,695,055.00	21,695,055.00
France	4,025,000,000.00	2,822,674,104.17	6,847,674,104.17
Great Britain	4,600,000,000.00	6,505,965,000.00	11,105,965,000.00
Hungary	1,939,000.00	2,754,240.00	4,693,240.00
Italy	2,042,000,000.00	365,677,500.00	2,407,677,500.00
Latvia	5,775,000.00	8,183,635.00	13,958,635.00
Lithuania	6,030,000.00	8,501,940.00	14,531,940.00
Poland	178,560,000.00	257,127,550.00	435,687,550.00
Rumania	44,590,000.00	77,916,260.05	122,506,260.05
Yugoslavia	62,850,000.00	32,327,635.00	95,177,635.00
Total	$11,522,354,000.00	$10,621,185,993.10	$22,143,539,993.10

The states frequently borrow large sums for roads, buildings or other public improvements. The state debts

today are four times as great as at the beginning of the century, and are continuing to increase. The per capita debt ranges from a dollar or two in several states to approximately ninety-five dollars in South Dakota. The average for all states is about ten and a half dollars. Three states have no bonded indebtedness.

Almost every state now limits the amount of indebtedness by constitutional provision, and expenditures are not so extravagant as they were during much of the nineteenth century. States usually borrow money by the issue of bonds and by provision for payment made by a sinking fund or by having the bonds become due in different years.

Until the third quarter of the nineteenth century the cities were usually free to borrow any amount and so many of them ran so heavily in debt that municipal indebtedness has been limited in two thirds of the states. Municipal indebtedness has increased rapidly in spite of these provisions and some three billion dollars is now owed by cities of more than thirty thousand population. Some cities have a per capita indebtedness of more than $100.

The changes in the net debt of the various units of governments in a decade are shown by the table following:

Division of Government	Gross Debt Less Sinking Fund Assets			
	1922		1912	
	Amount	Per Capita	Amount	Per Capita
National (1923 and 1913)	$22,155,886,000	$203.78	$1,028,564,000	$10.59
States	935,543,000	8.64	345,940,000	3.57
Counties	1,255,211,000	13.00	371,528,000	4.33
Incorporated Places	4,708,940,000	70.80	2,884,884,000	54.27
All other civil divisions	1,797,245,000	.....	219,545,000	.....
Total	$30,852,825,000	$283.77	$4,850,461,000	$49.97

Forms of taxation. The general property tax is a direct tax on practically all forms of property, real and personal. It was introduced in the pioneer days of our history and was a fairly satisfactory tax as long as there was little in-

tangible property. It has never been widely used by the Federal Government and its use by the states is being criticized with increasing severity because of the difficulty of locating personal property, the premium it puts on dishonesty, and the difficulties of equalizing assessments between communities.

Corporation taxes take various forms. Some are levied on the basis of the amount of corporate stock, corporate indebtedness, net income, gross receipts, or franchise privileges. Excessive profit taxes require payment of those concerns which make more than a certain rate of profit. Business and license taxes are those levied for the privilege of engaging in a business or following a calling. They are often used to regulate the business as well as produce revenue. The license taxes may require payment for the privilege of owning an object, as an automobile or dog.

The income tax may require so much for each dollar of income or may be graduated so that those with largest incomes will pay the largest tax on each dollar. There is usually an exemption so that those who earn least pay no tax. This tax has long been an important source of revenue in Europe.

The inheritance or estate tax takes a portion of the estate of the deceased before permitting it to pass to the heir. The rate of the tax usually varies directly with the size of the inheritance and inversely with the degree of kinship. The gift tax is similar to the inheritance tax and is frequently levied to prevent one escaping the inheritance tax by giving away property before death. It is sometimes escaped by selling property at less than market value.

The poll tax generally falls on all males twenty-one or more years of age. In colonial times it was a very important source of revenue. Fees are frequently charged for services. The fees connected with the judiciary are very important. The fees have proved a helpful source of rev-

enue, but are usually objectionable when allowed instead of, or in addition to, a salary.

Special assessments are made where the government confers a special service, as when a city constructs sidewalks in front of private property. They were not important until the latter part of the nineteenth century and are little used now outside of municipalities.

The tariff has combined revenue production with protection. The states cannot lay a tariff except as an aid to the enforcement of their inspection laws, and the Federal Government cannot tax exports.

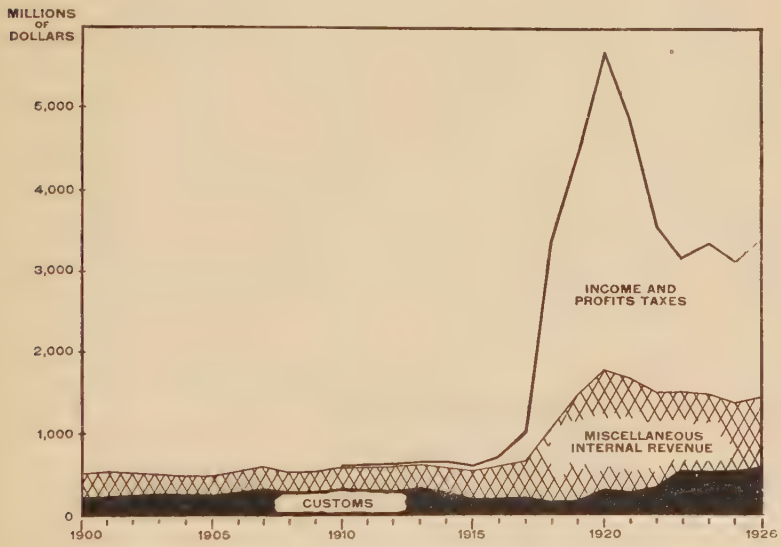
Internal revenue requires the manufacturer or importer to pay for the privilege of producing or offering for sale certain goods, as tobacco or alcoholic beverages.

The revenues from taxation are frequently supplemented by earnings from business undertakings in some countries, as the monopoly of the match industry in France and the sale of intoxicating liquors in Scandinavian countries, but this has not been an important source of revenue in the United States. Our sale of public land has brought in so little revenue that it has scarcely supplemented taxation. Our new policy of leasing natural resources may prove to be productive of much revenue.

Federal taxation. The taxing power of Congress is almost unlimited, except that it can lay no tax on exports or agencies of the state and local governments, and must apportion all direct taxes except the income tax among the states in proportion to the number of people in each.

Between 1791 and 1860 customs produced 98.6 per cent of our Federal revenue, miscellaneous internal revenue 1.4 per cent, and income and profits taxes nothing. Between 1861 and 1909 customs produced 53.7 per cent, miscellaneous internal revenue 44.1 per cent, and income and profits taxes 2.2 per cent. Before the World War the tax receipts of the Federal Government were derived almost wholly

from customs and miscellaneous internal revenue. Nearly three fifths of the tax receipts now come from the income and profits taxes of the Federal Government.



Courtesy, Treasury Department

RECEIPTS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

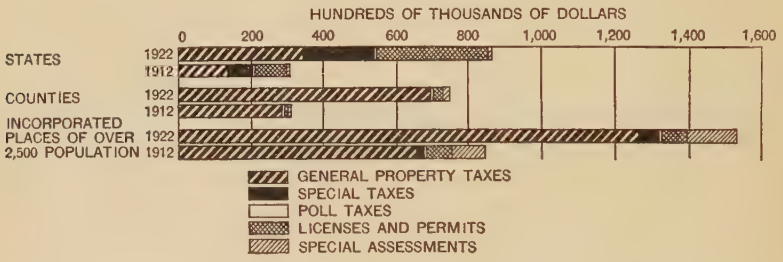
Receipts of the Federal Government from customs, miscellaneous internal revenue, and income and profits taxes for the fiscal years 1900–1926.

Before the war two thirds of the income from miscellaneous internal revenue was from alcoholic beverages, but very little is now derived from that source, two fifths of our miscellaneous internal revenue being from tobacco.

The Revenue Act of 1928 left the normal income tax rate at 1½ per cent on the first $4,000 of taxable income of individuals, 3 per cent on the next $4,000 and 5 per cent on all income in excess of that. A single person is allowed an exemption of $1,500, and a family $3,500 with an additional $400 for each dependent. On incomes in excess of $10,000 a surtax was added ranging from one to twenty per cent according to the size of the income.

This law reduced the tax on corporations to 12 per cent of their net income. The policy of reducing the miscellaneous war taxes was continued, but the estate tax was retained in spite of the strong sentiment against it.

State and local taxation. Taxes, licenses, permits, and special assessments of states and local governments in 1922 amounted to $4,220,912,000, divided as follows: general property tax 78.7 per cent, licenses and permits 9.7 per cent, special taxes 6.1 per cent, special assessments 4.9 per cent and poll taxes .7 per cent. The proportion of income in 1912 and 1922 received by states, counties and incorporated places having a population of over 2,500 received from certain sources is shown in the diagram following.



Courtesy, Bureau of the Census

STATE AND LOCAL REVENUE

Taxes, licenses and permits, and special assessments of states, counties, and incorporated places having a population of over 2500: 1922 and 1912.

Three states have ceased to use the general property tax for state purposes and many economists believe it should be abolished or used for local revenue only. The state boards of equalization have done much to remove the inequalities of local assessments, but this tax is best adapted to local taxation.

The income tax has been used since the colonization period of our history, but was not effectively used until recently. More than a fourth of our states now levy an income tax which brings in about thirty million dollars annually.

The tax is usually for state purposes only, but Massachusetts and New York share it with incorporated places and specified civil divisions, and Wisconsin shares it with counties, incorporated places and specified civil divisions.

The inheritance tax was scarcely known in the United States before the last decade of the nineteenth century but is now found in all except three states. It yields nearly three times as much revenue as the income tax. The inheritance tax rate varies from a minimum of 1½ per cent in two states to a maximum of forty per cent in three states. It is usually for state purposes only, but is divided between state and certain local units in a few states.

Corporation taxes are increasing and promise to be an extremely important source of revenue in the future.

The maximum tax rate of the local units is frequently limited by the state constitutions or statutes of the legislatures.

The assessment of taxes should receive more careful attention. It requires much time by trained workers to assess fairly the property of a community. It also requires much ability and training to locate certain forms of personal property. Since the government forces the individual to pay, it is under a sacred obligation to see that neither ignorance, carelessness nor political corruption shall cause injustice.

Questions on the Text

1. Discuss the increasing cost of the Federal Government. State governments. Local governments.
2. Compare the division of expenditures in Federal, state and local governments.
3. Why is the budget needed?
4. Discuss changes in the public debt.
5. Define and give examples of six kinds of taxes.
6. Show the changing sources of Federal revenue.
7. What are the chief sources of state revenue? Local revenue?

Suggestions for Further Study

1. What principles should guide the government in spending its revenue?

2. Report on recent changes in the cost of government in your community. Suggest helpful changes in the distribution of expenditures, if possible.

3. Report on the development of the budget by some state or local government.

4. *Resolved:* That a budget system should be used by every unit of government.

5. Trace the history of our national debt.

6. Why did the United States agree to a lower rate of interest on the money owed by foreign countries than it pays bondholders for money?

7. *Resolved:* That the United States should cancel all debts made by our Allies during the World War.

8. When is a state or local government justified in borrowing large sums of money?

9. What are the important provisions of the present Federal tax law?

10. What are the principal sources of revenue for your State and local governments?

11. What things should be considered in levying a tax? Which of the taxes in your community follow fairly well the principles you think should be followed?

12. Write an essay on one form of taxation.

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CHAPTER XLI

AMERICA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

THE PROBLEM: Our love for America should make us detect and consider her points of strength and weakness. We need an accurate view of her past and present that we may use this in creating an even greater America.

The America of the past. America has had an exceedingly interesting history. She was discovered at a time when Europe was awakening from the Dark Ages and making a little progress toward the fuller light of modern times. It was an age of expectancy as Portugal, Spain and other new nations pushed their explorations farther and farther into the unknown, and a few exploring minds were preparing the way for the scientific studies that have done so much to make modern history.

A new and interesting race of savage and barbarous peoples were discovered here. The natural resources were very great. With the stage set for interesting events there appeared many peoples of various races and cultures, each contributing something to the whole. The world looked on and wondered if so many peoples could dwell together in peace. The peoples have continued to come in increasing numbers, but disorder has not increased.

We gave birth to our ideals very early. Many of the things for which at least part of the colonies were struggling were scarcely known to the world of that day. They were looked upon as dreams of visionary philosophers—dreams which the people of many countries dared not even discuss under the pain of death.

When we commenced our experiment in democracy the nations wondered if this nation or "any nation so conceived and so dedicated" could long endure. Even in this country

in colonial days and later there were denied in many places some elements of freedom that we consider essential to democracy. We have been forced to reinterpret our ideals in the light of the experience and because of the growth of each generation to secure a more helpful interpretation. We have not always been true to our ideals. Too often we have denied equality of opportunity and other forms of justice. Selfishness, prejudice and passion have sometimes swayed large numbers far from the path of righteousness. Sometimes we did not know what to do and had to grope our way along blindly as some favored one course and some another.

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NATIONAL MONUMENT TO THE FOREFATHERS

Do "The Forefathers" who laid a worthy foundation deserve more credit than those who create a worthy present?

But there is much to take pride in as we glance back over our history. Many fine and noble things have gone into the building of the Nation. There has been a progressive realization of our ideals. Although our progress has not always been either direct or swift it has generally been continuous as one defect after another has been replaced by something that was better.

We still have our shortcomings and faults. We should

like to be nearer a complete attainment of our ideals. But the greatest, brightest, most promising fact of all is that the America of today is the best America that has ever existed. We are further along the road of progress—spiritually, intellectually and materially—than we have been before.

The America of the present. Every business man appreciates the advantages of the inventory. Our present success and our future development depend in large measure on what America is now. Look around, consider America and judge her from each significant point of view.

There are great spiritual forces working toward the realization of ethical ends. Have the opposing forces anything like so much strength and vitality? The writer thinks they have not. We have a rich cultural heritage and are rapidly expanding our large facilities for the diffusion of it.

We have nearly a hundred and twenty millions of people with much the same type of intelligence and energy that have characterized us from the beginning. We have shown a readiness to accept social and economic change and to adapt ourselves to new conditions.

Our natural resources are still very great. Our prosperity is greater than that experienced by any other nation since the beginning of time.

We are maintaining a helpful relationship with the other nations, and no serious causes of international complications appear near.

Truly, we have very, very much for which to be thankful!

The America of the future. Many people appear to think that Americanism is a finished product; a thing whose content must be kept inviolate from generation to generation. To change it would be to violate its integrity, we are told. A state director of Americanization work recently told the writer that this conception causes some fine, patriotic people to withhold their support from Americanization work when he speaks of improving our Ameri-

canism. They would hand down unchanged to future generations the conception of Americanism they received from the preceding generation.

Such a conception would make improvement impossible —or nearly so. Change is the very essence of life, a condition of all growth as well as decay. Change will come. It is for you and me to determine whether it will be helpful or harmful. The America of the future will be different whether we like it or not; the only thing we can decide is whether it will be better or worse.

The changes of the future should bring improvement along two lines: There should be an ever-increasing realization of individuality—spiritual, moral, mental and physical —and there should be an ever-increasing realization of more helpful economic, social, and political structures and activities.

Our ideals must be tested constantly. If we find the ideals and the activities which flow from them fail to further individual and social progress, we must scrutinize the ideals and our interpretation of them carefully.

America is growing rapidly. Population, culture and wealth are increasing by leaps and bounds. Her possibilities are nearly limitless. Shall she realize these? The answer will depend on her domestic activity and her relation with foreign nations. She has many perplexing internal problems as we have seen in this book. Can we solve them? The increase of international contacts is binding the well-being of each nation more closely to that of every other nation. Our future will be greatly affected by the way in which certain world problems are dealt with.

The very magnificence of the possibilities should draw us to the task of making America increasingly efficient and noble. Here is an opportunity for real creative work of a high order. May we not face it as joyously and confidently as Abbie Farwell Brown faces the future!

And mine the Future to bequeath
Unto the generations new;
I help to shape it with my breath,
Mine as I think or do.

Present and Past my heritage,
The Future laid in my control:—
No matter what my name or age,
I am the Master-soul.

It is a fine, a noble task that lies before us as we make America's possibilities realities. What part will you play in this noble work?

Questions on the Text

1. Give an estimate of America's past.
2. What specific forces are suggested by "great spiritual forces working toward the realization of ethical ends"?
3. How should we test our ideals? Memorize the stanzas of Brown's *The Heritage*.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. In what things in our history do you take the greatest pride? What things in our history do you most regret?
2. Mention the ten facts about America at present that you consider the most worth-while. The ten that you consider the least worth-while. Compare America and some other country with respect to the twenty points.
3. What should be our national ideals? Define each as exactly as possible. How can we realize each more fully? What part should you play in our progress toward each?
4. *Resolved:* That right ideals play a bigger part than material wealth in making a nation happy.

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APPENDIX

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Preamble

We The People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. Legislative Department

Section 1. Congress Bicameral. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. House of Representatives. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which

shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. Senate. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State [chosen by the Legislature thereof] for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any

State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. Election; Session. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. Disputed Elections; Disciplining Members; Journal; Adjournment. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Compensation; Privileges and Immunities of Members; Office Holding. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been in-

creased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. Bill; Veto; Order, Resolution, Vote. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, accord-

ing to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have Power: To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the

Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. Limitations on Congress: Commerce; Habeas Corpus; Bill of Attainder; Ex Post Facto Law; Direct Tax; Appropriations; Gifts. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the Public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless

in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. Limitations on the States. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in

time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. Term, [Election] Qualifications, Disability, Succession, Compensation, and Oath of Office of President; Vice President. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the States may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall imme-

diately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice President.]

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period

any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. Powers of the President. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. Other Powers and Duties of the President. He

shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. Impeachment. The President, Vice-President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section 1. Courts, Judges. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. Jurisdiction; Jury; Place of Trial. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of differ-

ent States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. INTER-STATE, FEDERAL-STATE, AND FEDERAL-TERRITORIAL RELATIONS

Section 1. Inter-State Acceptance of Public Acts, Records and Judicial Proceedings. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may

by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. Inter-State Privileges and Immunities; Extradition; Fugitive Slaves. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section 3. New States; Territories. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. Federal Guarantee to the States. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature,

or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS; SLAVE TRADE; EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. DEBTS; SUPREME LAW; OATH OF OFFICE; RELIGIOUS TEST FORBIDDEN

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned,

and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

GO: WASHINGTON
Presidt and deputy from Virginia.
[*Other names omitted.*]

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Articles in Addition To, and Amendment Of, the Constitution of the United States of America, Proposed by Congress, and Ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, Pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Original Constitution.

ARTICLE I (Adopted 1791). RELIGION; SPEECH; PRESS; ASSEMBLAGE; PETITION

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II (Adopted 1791). RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III (Adopted 1791). QUARTERING OF SOLDIERS

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV (Adopted 1791). UNREASONABLE SEARCHES AND SEIZURES; WARRANTS

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V (Adopted 1791). INDICTMENT; TWICE IN JEOPARDY; WITNESS AGAINST SELF; DUE PROCESS OF LAW; EMINENT DOMAIN

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI (Adopted 1791). CRIMINAL TRIALS

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII (Adopted 1791). SUITS AT COMMON LAW

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII (Adopted 1791). BAIL; FINES; PUNISHMENTS

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX (Adopted 1791). RIGHTS RETAINED BY THE PEOPLE

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X (Adopted 1791). POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES AND THE PEOPLE

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI (Adopted 1798). FEDERAL JUDICIAL POWER LIMITED

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

ARTICLE XII (Adopted 1804). ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of

the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII (Adopted 1865). SLAVERY

Section 1. Slavery Abolished. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Enforcement. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV (Adopted 1868). CITIZENSHIP; OFFICE HOLDING; PUBLIC DEBT

Section 1. National and State Citizenship; Limitations on States. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United

States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Apportionment of Representatives. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. Some Confederates Disqualified. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. Public Debt. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services

in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Enforcement. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV (Adopted 1870). NEGRO SUFFRAGE

Section 1. Right to Vote Affirmed. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. Enforcement. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI (Adopted 1913). INCOME TAX

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII (Adopted 1913). DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State

shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII (Adopted 1919). PROHIBITION

Section 1. Intoxicating Liquors Prohibited. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. Enforcement. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. Time for Ratification Limited. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX (Adopted 1920). WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Section 1. Right to Vote Affirmed. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Enforcement. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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